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Νικα λογισμῳ̃ τὴν παρῥ̃σαν συμφοράν.

ORIGINAL CRITICISM.

An Inquiry into the Changes induced on Atmoſpheric Air, by the Germination of Seeds, the Vegetation of Plants, and the Reſpiration of Animals. By Daniel Ellis. Pp. 256. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1807. Murray, London.

SINCE the diſcoveries of Prieſtley, the labours of Ingenhouz, and the rhymes of Darwin, not only philoſophers, but ladies have been delighted with the preſence of plants, under the pleaſing idea, that they emitted during the day large quantities of vital air, and were conſequently ſalubrious to animal life. The very general prevalency indeed of this philoſophical ſpeculation, which, ſince its firſt promulgation in 1771, has been re-echoed by almoſt all claſſes and nations, and related from the pulpit, on the bench, in the novels or romances of the day, and in the goſſips' ſtories of the nurſeries; has doubtleſs contributed to prevent philoſophers from examining its accuracy more minutely, and determining how far ſuch a proceſs may operate on the phyſical conſtitution of the atmoſphere in which we breathe. The reſearches of various acute and able chemiſts have removed many of the erroneous notions entertained reſpecting the effects of animal reſpiration, though much ſtill remains to be done; but unfortunately our modern botaniſts, unlike our medical profeſſors, are only mere nomenclaturiſts, not chemiſts or naturaliſts ſufficient to inveſtigate the phyſical hiſtory of the vegetables whoſe *external* characters they ſucceſsfully labour to deſcribe. The ſubject, therefore, of the preſent Inquiry, though not altogether new or neglected, is

yet the moſt uncultivated of any branch of knowledge which depends on chemical philoſophy. "It was ſuggeſted to the author," he ſays, "by accidentally obſerving the ſpontaneous recovery of an animal, in whom all the appearances of life had been ſuſpended by drowning. Reflecting on this part of the pathology of reſpiration, and on the theories which have been propoſed to explain it, he was led to conſider, with particular attention, the phyſiology of that function. The reſult of his inquiry terminated in a conviction, that although many great and important ſteps had been made, yet much hypothetical conjecture was blended with eſtabliſhed fact, and many ſuppoſitions were admitted into our theories, which but ill accorded with the ſtructure and economy of the animal ſyſtem." He adds, that "in the preſent Treatiſe, no reference whatever has been made to the theories which have been propoſed to explain the phenomena of vegetation and reſpiration. Such theories, it is evident, muſt reſt on a knowledge of the *changes* produced by living bodies on the air; and it is the profeſſed object of this Inquiry to examine, *with more attention than has yet been done*, into the *nature* and *extent* of theſe *changes*. The attempt alſo to combine, in every inſtance, the demonſtrations of anatomy with the chemical phenomena which we obſerve, and to conſider both in connection and ſubſervience to the laws which characterize living beings, will, he truſts, meet with the approbation of phyſiologiſts, and tend to reduce within proper limits the application of chemiſtry to this ſcience."

This Inquiry is divided into ſix chapters: on the changes induced on the air, by the germination of ſeeds; by the vegetation of plants; by the reſpiration of inſects, worms, fiſhes, and amphibious animals; and by the reſpiration of birds, of quadrupeds, and of man; of the ſource of the carbon in vegetables and animals by which the changes in the air are effected; and the phenomena which ariſe from the changes induced on the air by the living functions of vegetables and animals. We ſhall notice the author's principal experiments and obſervations in the ſame order.

Commencing with the "changes induced on the air by the germination of ſeeds," the author ſtates the well-known fact, that dried ſeeds, although expoſed to heat and air, may be kept for a great length of time without undergoing any ſenſible change, or affecting the air in contact with them. If, however, moiſture have acceſs to them, they preſently begin to ſwell, and produce ſenſible changes on the ſuperincumbent air. Mr. Gough has aſcertained, that after 5 days ſteeping in water at 46°, and even in 48 hours at temperatures from 60° to 66°, putrefaction in ſeeds came on, under which carbonic acid and carburetted hydrogen gaſes were produced, and the faculty of germinating deſtroyed. Mr. Huber found peas germinated in both boiled and diſtilled water; and Sauſſure concluded that their whole ſubſtance, with the exception of their membranes, was reduced to theſe two gaſes.

Hence, it is evident that the preſence of water alone is eſſential to the commencement of germination, but its too long application diſpoſes to putrefaction. A certain degree of heat is alſo neceſſary, and almoſt every ſpecies of ſeed ſeems to require a degree peculiar to itſelf. Light, the author conſiders, contrary to the opinions of Ingenhouz and Sennebier, as impeding vegetation in no other manner than as it facilitates evaporation, and conſequently generates cold, which always retards vegetation. But although water and heat appear to be the only eſſential agents to the commencement of germination, yet after a certain period air becomes equally neceſſary. From the experiments of Achard and others, it appears that no ſeeds will germinate in nitrogen gas, which forms nearly four-fifths of our atmoſphere: if they remain 3 or 4 days in it, however, in warm weather, they begin to putrefy, and yield carbonic acid, after which they cannot be brought to germinate. Barley is converted into malt when expoſed to oxygen gas, which gradually diſappears, and carbonic acid ſupplies its place; hence oxygen is likewiſe eſſential to the proceſs of germination. But, from a great variety of experiments made by different experimentaliſts, and in divers climates, it appears that the uſual compoſition of the atmoſphere is, of all known mixtures of gas, that which moſt facilitates a vigorous germination. From theſe data a curious and ſomewhat difficult queſtion ariſes, which the author diſcuſſes with great impartiality and logical preciſion. The reſults of all modern experiments on germination prove, that the quantity of carbonic acid produced is juſt in proportion to the quantity of oxygen which diſappears; hence it is aſked, by what proceſs does a pea immerſed in water abſorb oxygen, and diſengage carbon? Water alone neither abſorbs oxygen, nor gives out carbon; and did the pea abſorb oxygen, it muſt acquire an additional weight in proportion, which is contrary to the fact proved by direct experiment. Peas immerſed in water, according to the experiments of Cruickſhank, give out carbon when no germination takes place, and when they are approaching the putrefactive proceſs, in which caſe the quantity of air is increaſed moſt probably by the putrefactive decompoſition of the ſeed. But where germination takes place, and oxygen abſorbed or vaniſhed, and carbon produced, the quantity of air is not increaſed, but diminiſhed. Thus then it would ſeem that the oxygen which diſappears is not *all* abſorbed by the ſeed in germinating, but only ſuch a quantity as is merely equivalent to counterbalance the loſs of carbon, which unites with the oxygen to form carbonic acid, and in this manner effects a change in the volume only, and not in the weight either of the germinating ſeed, or incumbent gas; hence, it is concluded, that "in germination the ſeed does not form carbonic acid *from its own ſubſtance*, but furniſhes only one of the conſtituent parts of it, namely, the carbon; and that when it does form this acid, independent of oxygen gas, it is only under a ſtate of decompoſi-

tion, or in circumſtances where no living action is going on." The author adds, that the quantity of carbonic acid produced does actually exceed in weight the oxygen that diſappears, and that, as "carbonic acid is neceſſarily a product and conſequence of germination, it ſeems abſurd to conſider it at the ſame time as an exciting principle and a cauſe." Heat, moiſture, and oxygen, he has proved eſſential to this proceſs; but how theſe ſubſtances act on each other, ſo as to produce carbonic acid, he has not ventured to determine, as the diſengagement of a new ſubſtance in this caſe cannot be accounted for like in that of combuſtion. It may be alledged, however, that the water gives mechanical expanſibility to the pea; that the heat then effects its expanſion; and that in the latter proceſs the carbon is brought to a ſtate fit to combine with the oxygen, and thus form carbonic acid.

The 2d chapter treats of "the changes induced on the air by the vegetation of plants." After detailing the principal facts relative to the exiſtence of the tranſpiration and abſorption performed by vegetables, and the organs neceſſary for ſuch proceſſes, the author proceeds to inveſtigate the opinion firſt promulgated by Dr. Prieſtley, in 1771, announcing his diſcovery that plants give out vital air, or oxygen gas, when expoſed to the ſun, during the day; and during the night, phlogiſticated air, or nitrogen gas. For this purpoſe he takes a conciſe but very accurate view of the opinions and obſervations of all the more diſtinguiſhed writers on vegetable phyſiology, and endeavours to aſcertain, both phyſiologically and chemically, that ſuch a proceſs can have no exiſtence in nature, and that trees, poſſeſſing no organs of abſorption in the bark, cannot therefore elaborate carbonic gas during the night only, and diſcharge oxygen gas during the day. From a vaſt variety of experiments, the reſults of which all tend to prove the impoſſibility of ſuch a proceſs taking place, the author remarks, that "both phyſiologiſts and chemiſts ſeem, in this inſtance, to have ſatisfied themſelves with contemplating at a diſtance the beauty of the *final cauſe*, inſtead of approaching to a nearer examination of the facts on which the opinion has been maintained." On this head he offers the following abſtract arguments:

"Againſt this opinion of the abſorption and emiſſion of gaſes by the leaves of plants, when growing naturally in air, we have already, both on phyſiological and on chemical grounds, been induced to enter our proteſt. That the ſame ſubſtance, carbonic acid, ſhould, during the day, be abſorbed by the leaf, and decompoſed within it as ſalutary, and during the night ſhould be formed within the ſame leaf, and emitted from it as noxious, ſeems to be not only inconſiſtent, but abſurd. Where would be the advantage in the carbon of the acid being retained for 12 hours as food, if, for the next 12, it muſt again be given out as excrementitious? Or where is there an inſtance, in the whole circle of exiſtence, of a living agent not only firſt forming its own food, but feeding on its own excre-

tions? If this carbon were, during the day, retained as food, whence comes *that* compoſing the acid which plants, when confined in a given bulk of air, are conſtantly forming? If oxygen gas, as theſe chemiſts ſuppoſe, be during the day conſtantly emitted, why does that gas gradually diſappear as the proceſs of vegetation proceeds? And why at laſt is none to be met with, although there is preſent an abundance of carbonic acid, out of which it is ſuppoſed to be formed? It has been proved that during the day carbonic acid, by the act of vegetation, is conſtantly forming; but if, at the ſame time, it be as conſtantly abſorbed by the leaves, how can its preſence be manifeſted in ſuch quantity, and in ſuch progreſſion, as experiment evinces that it is? All theſe obſervations apply to the circumſtances of plants growing naturally in air; when they are placed in water, other phenomena ariſe, from which have been drawn arguments in favour of an abſorption and emiſſion of gaſes by leaves. It has however been ſhewn by direct experiment, that when plants are confined in a given bulk of atmoſpheric air, they gradually and completely deſtroy its oxygenous portion, which could not poſſibly happen if they poſſeſſed the power of emitting oxygen gas. The experiments indeed of Dr. Ingenhouz himſelf teach us, that this ſuppoſed emiſſion of oxygen gas does not depend ſo much on the power of the leaves, as on the quality of the water in which they are immerſed; for if the water be previouſly boiled, little or no oxygen gas is collected. Hence, then, we ſee, that to effect the ſeparation of air from water, the organized ſtructure of the leaf is not only neceſſary, but that the quality of the ſeparated air is altogether different from what this ſuppoſed function of the leaves ought to ſupply. No proof, therefore, of the abſorption and emiſſion of gaſes, much leſs of oxygen gas, by the natural functions of leaves, can be derived from theſe experiments on plants immerſed in water: and were the experiments even more preciſe, they would not in the leaſt apply to the caſe of vegetables which flouriſh in the open air."

Thus, according to the deciſive experiments and reaſonings of Mr. Ellis, the pretty poetical doctrine of plants emitting alternately oxygen and carbon, is but a mere conceit, unfounded in fact, and unſupported by ſound philoſophy. That plants, however, do emit gas, is certain; but that gas is uniformly carbonic both day and night, and never oxygen, as has hitherto been erroneouſly ſuppoſed. This fact ſhould teach our ſpeculative faſhionable phyſicians to obſerve the effects of external agents on their patients more minutely and philoſophically than hitherto they have done; and when they cauſe plants or flowers to be placed during the day in the rooms which their patients occupy, if any apparent or ſuppoſed advantage reſult from it, let them not aſcribe it in future to the diſengagement of an extra-portion of oxygen, and charge the ſtomachs of their unfortunate ſufferers with oxydifying ſubſtances, but ſeek, with more attention to facts and analogies, for the cauſe of ſuch temporary relief in the imagination of the ſick, in the effects of the aroma which all plants, more or leſs, diffuſe, in the increaſed weight of the air of the apartment, or perhaps in the antiputreſcent and ſalutary effects of the ſlight proportion of car-

bonic acid emitted by the vegetables, and mechanically united with the air of the room.

The deciſion of this point, however, may be of perhaps ſtill greater conſequence in agricultural than in medical inſtitutions, as tending to develop and remove many erroneous, but apparently very refined, philoſophical notions entertained by moſt of our ſpeculative agriculturiſts. It is ſingular indeed that ſo many reſpectable chemiſts ſhould have ſuffered the opinion to paſs on to a kind of public agricultural creed, that carbon is the chief or only food of plants, although it has long been known that they evolve carbonic acid gas, and that it is not very philoſophical to ſuppoſe that the ſame element which they diſcharge as excrementitious ſhould only be a part of their food, which has paſſed through their veſſels unaſſimilated and unchanged. There is no evidence of any ſuch proceſs ever carried on by natural agents, which invariably effect ſome change in whatever ſubſtances are received into living organs. It is therefore to be inferred from analogy, as well as the evidence of direct experiments made by various philoſophers, and by our author, that it is not carbon but oxygen which is the pabulum of plants, or which contributes to the development and formation of vegetable matter. As an additional proof of the importance and agency of oxygen in this proceſs, we might obſerve the rapid formation of vegetable matter in water ſlightly impregnated with acid, without any eſtimable portion of carbon: in vinegar, or in water acidulated by ſulphuric acid, the rapid generation of vegetable matter is evident, although it will not be contended that this generation is more owing to carbon than oxygen. It appears alſo that all ſubſtances which contain oxygen in conſiderable quantities are good as manures, and that plants, in a ſtate of vegetation and proper temperature, poſſeſs the power of attracting it from all the other bodies with which it is united. Hence the reaſon why ſulphat of iron, oxyd of maganeſe, &c. have been found ſo uſeful to vegetation. Theſe facts deſerve the moſt ſerious attention of huſbandmen and theorizing agiculturiſts, who have hitherto been endeavouring to carbonize inſtead of oxygenize their ſoils.

The "changes induced on the air by the reſpiration of inſects, worms, fiſhes, and amphibious animals; of birds, quadrupeds, and of man," occupy the 3d and 4th chapters, in which the author evinces conſiderable addreſs in arranging the widely ſcattered facts diſcovered by various philoſophers relative to the nature and effects of reſpiration in the animal kingdom. The opinions of nearly all the writers from Ray to Spallanzani, Boſtock and Davy, who have either written diſtinct treatiſes, or incidentally diſcuſſed this ſubject, are here brought under review, and the principal facts which they obſerved and recorded fairly appreciated, and logically arranged, in a manner calculated to give the concluſion a demon-

ſtrative baſis. From the reſults of experiments made by numerous experimentaliſts, Mr. E. concludes, "that nitrogen gas is brought in contact with the reſpiratory organs of fiſhes and inſects without undergoing any change; that oxygen is not abſorbed by theſe organs, but, united to the carbon of the animal, forms carbonic acid; and that it is not to the preſence of the (generally ſuppoſed deleterious) carbonic acid, but to the ſmall proportion or total abſence of oxygen gas, that the ceſſation of the animal functions is immediately to be aſcribed." He applies the ſame principles to the human reſpiration, but with ſomewhat leſs ſucceſs, and many facts are yet to be aſcertained, in order to account ſatisfactorily for the diminution, which varies from $\frac{1}{36}$ to $\frac{1}{12}$th, of the* volume of the oxygen gas inſpired, and the carbonic acid reſpired, in the proceſs of reſpiration. That the oxygen is neither directly abſorbed by the ſyſtem, nor found exiſting in the fluids, we are willing to admit; but we cannot agree with the author in aſcribing the diminution of it to a proceſs like combuſtion in the lungs, which perhaps has no exiſtence. We ſhould rather conclude that the diminution in the volume of oxygen is effected by the ſame proceſs which diſengages ſuch a quantity of carbon, and that, as a ſubſtitute for the latter, the former is animalized, and perhaps finally converted to ſome purpoſe ſubſervient to the animal economy.

The 5th chapter inveſtigates the "ſources of the carbon in vegetables and animals, by which the changes in the air are effected." On this ſubject, which is not a little complex, the reſults of numerous experiments by the moſt diſtinguiſhed chemiſts and philoſophers are frequently diametrically oppoſite to each other; and it is to be feared, that we ſhall never attain ſufficiently preciſe and accurate knowledge of this phenomenon. The following extract will convey an idea of our author's general concluſions.

"It is generally admitted that the cellular ſurface of the lungs is furniſhed with exhalent veſſels. Theſe veſſels, like thoſe of the ſkin and inteſtines, appear to be endued with a power, not only of exhaling water, but likewiſe of emitting carbon; for water and cabonic acid are expelled from the lungs in reſpiration, in the ſame manner as they are produced by the ſkin when in contact with atmoſpheric air. As, therefore, the products of reſpiration and perſpiration are in kind preciſely ſimilar, we are juſtified in aſcribing their formation to ſimilar laws: and, ſince it ſeems to have been demonſtrated, by direct experiment, that no tranſpiration of aëriform fluids takes place through the ſkin, we may preſume that none is able to be carried on through the cells and blood-veſſels of the lungs. Not only is the cellular ſubſtance of the lungs furniſhed with abſorbent and exhalent veſſels like that of the ſkin, but it is ſupplied from within by the ſame blood, and expoſed from without to the ſame atmoſpheric air. It has been ſhewn alſo, that the colourleſs fluids of various animals are able to effect the

* The volume of the oxygen gas diminiſhed by reſpiration has been eſtimated at $\frac{1}{7}$th of the entire quantity inſpired daily.

ſame change on the air, as that which is produced by the blood: and that the ſerum of the blood itſelf (which is eſpecially deſtined to ſupply the exhalent function) produces on the air the ſame identical change as it experiences in the lungs: all which circumſtances ſtrongly incline us to ſuppoſe, that the function of the lungs reſembles in kind that of the ſkin. The proofs likewiſe already adduced, that the carbon furniſhed by vegetables, and by the inferior animals, as well thoſe which perſpire by the ſkin, as thoſe which breathe by lungs, depends wholly on the due circulation of their fluids, and is, conſequently, the reſult of a living action, are ſtrong preſumptive evidence, that the ſame law obtains in the ſuperior animals, and in man: and ſeem to authoriſe the concluſion, that the carbon ſupplied in human reſpiration is truly an animal excretion, carried on by the exhalent veſſels of the lungs; and therefore, that it primarily depends, like other excretions, on the due circulation and diſtribution of the blood, and is more or leſs affected by all its variations. In all animals, carbon is a neceſſary conſtituent ſubſtance; and the means of acquiring it muſt be as conſtant as its expulſion during living actions has been ſhewn to be, and from no other ſource than through the organs of digeſtion and ſecretion can it be conceived to be derived. To theſe organs of digeſtion, aſſimilation, and ſecretion, alone, are we enabled to trace it; but our knowledge of the theory of theſe functions in animals, as in vegetables, is extremely limited and imperfect. We have, indeed, of late ſucceeded in getting rid of much error and abſurdity, but *have not, in any inſtance, attained to complete knowledge.*"

The laſt diviſion of this volume contains an accurate account of "the phenomena which ariſe from the changes induced on the air by the living functions of vegetables and animals." The inadequacy of all the experiments hitherto made to illuſtrate and explain theſe phenomena, and the general inconſiſtency, not to ſay irreconcileableneſs, of their reſults, induce us to reſpect the motive of an attempt, which profeſſes to glean the concordant parts, and ſeparate them from all the imaginary ſpeculations that abound in the writings of all the philoſophers who have eſſayed to diſcuſs and elucidate this curious ſubject. In this arduous attempt, indeed, the author modeſtly acknowledges, that, (as might have been expected) he has "got rid of much error and abſurdity, but has attained nothing complete." The removal of errors, however, can never be effected without the previous attainment of much poſitive knowledge, and that too of a kind generally more advantageous to the progreſs of true ſcience than the diſcovery of ſome new facts, which are too often explained and adapted to the old and erroneous theories. The general ſimplicity to which Mr E.'s concluſions all tend, in explaining the phenomena produced on the air by vegetable or animal reſpiration, is no inconſiderable argument in favour of their accuracy. Heat, whether in animals or vegetables, he conſiders to be generated or communicated to the ſubject by the ſeparation of oxygen from the atmoſphere, and its ſubſequent converſion into carbonic acid

effected by the agency of the reſpiratory organs. This proceſs, the formation of carbonic acid, he very wiſely conſiders as a living function, and therefore totally diſtinct from chemical combuſtion, although in the diſengagement of heat, it muſt be confeſſed there is ſome analogy.

"Animal heat," ſays the author, "in all the amphibia mentioned, whether they inhabit the air, or the water, ſeems to follow nearly that of the medium in which they are placed; and their ſtandard temperature cannot, in conſequence, be reſtricted to any fixed point, but muſt be conſidered always in relation to that of their ſurrounding medium. Nevertheleſs, the low degree of heat which theſe animals poſſeſs, is a proof that they have within themſelves a power of producing heat. The loſs of heat which inſects ſuffer under cold, the fall of temperature in worms under melting ſnow, demonſtrate that the ſurrounding medium, whether it be air or water, is conſtantly drawing off their heat, which renders neceſſary as conſtant a reproduction of it. It is alſo evident (from the experiments detailed) that, during a ſtate of torpor, the temperature, even of the warm-blooded animals, exceeds only in a ſmall degree that of the atmoſphere by which their torpor is induced. But on paſſing into this torpid ſtate, under which the temperature ſo greatly falls, the motion of the blood in animals gradually declines, and at length, in ſome caſes, wholly ceaſes. All the ſecretory functions of the animal muſt, at this period, be ſuſpended, in conſequence of which, the air in contact with it undergoes no change; but when heat is reſtored, the blood again renews its motion, the ſecretory functions return, and the air undergoes its accuſtomed changes: theſe changes conſiſt in the converſion of its oxygen gas into carbonic acid, by carbon emitted by theſe animals through the medium of their reſpiratory organs. By theſe means a quantity of the ſpecific caloric of that gas is at the inſtant ſet free; and to this conſtant liberation of caloric by the perpetual decompoſition of the air, do we aſcribe that ſuperiority of temperature above the ſurrounding medium, which theſe animals, as well as vegetables, during the continuance of living action, are enabled to exhibit and preſerve."

Mr. Ellis applies the ſame explanation to what may be called the *living heat* or temperature in the moſt perfect ſubjects both of the animal and vegetable kingdom.

"In what manner, then, does the air, breathed by the ſuperior animals, give out its heat to ſupport that high degree of temperature above the ſurrounding medium, which they all poſſeſs? We have ſeen reaſon to conclude, that the inſpired air is decompoſed in the bronchial cells of the lungs (which contain a ſuperficies more than ten times greater than that of the whole body), and that all its oxygenous portion which diſappears is converted into carbonic acid, by carbon emitted from the exhalent ſurface of thoſe organs. During this gradual converſion of the oxygen gas, a quantity of ſpecific caloric, much greater than what is neceſſary to maintain the elaſticity of the carbonic acid that is formed, is neceſſarily ſet free; and to this exceſs of heat, thus conſtantly liberated in the lungs by the decompoſition of the air, do we look as the ſource of that ſuperiority

of temperature above the ſurrounding medium, which man, and other animals, under every viciſſitude of climate, are enabled to exhibit and maintain."

The author propoſes, ſhould his work meet the approbation of philoſophers, to purſue this inquiry, and to "attempt an illuſtration of certain phenomena which occur in germination and vegetation; the evolution, continuance, and ſuſpenſion of living action in the inferior claſſes of animals; the incubation and evolution of viviparous animals; and the phenomena of reſpiration as connected with the appearances and properties of the blood." We truſt that he will not abandon this ſubject, but that he will purſue it with the ſame ſpirit and energy which are conſpicuous in the volume before us. Throughout this Inquiry we perceive an acute and energetic mind, accuſtomed to the accurate obſervation both of natural and artificial appearances exhibited by animal and vegetable bodies, and a talent for the inveſtigation and arrangement of facts with perſpicuity and preciſion; and although Mr. E. ſhould add few new facts to our preſent ſtock of knowledge, we anticipate much poſitive advantage from the rejection of vague obſervations, falſe reaſonings, and palpable abſurdities, which have hitherto accompanied many reſpectable experiments in this branch of chemical ſcience. The author will find a vaſt and fertile field for obſervation on the germination and vegetation of plants, which the poetical imagination of Darwin has converted into a theatre of romance.

Strictures upon an Hiſtorical Review of the State of Ireland, by Francis Plowden, Eſq. Or, a Juſtification of the Conduct of the Engliſh Governments in that Country, from the Reign of Henry II to the Union of Great Britain and Ireland. Rivingtons. 1807.

[*Continued from Page 247 of Volume XXVI.*]

HAVING reviewed this very excellent work to the end of Queen Anne's reign, we ſhall now proceed to that of George the Firſt; during which, as Mr. Plowden aſſerts that the Iriſh Roman Catholics diſplayed the moſt zealous loyalty to the Hanover ſucceſſion, we ſhall give this judicious writer's unanſwerable refutation thereof.

"We come now to the reign of George the Firſt (Hiſt. Review, p. 240) 'when,' according to Mr. Plowden's work, '*Catholic* Ireland was the only part of the Britiſh empire for which Government felt ſecure: although malice may have been ſaturated in calumniating the *Iriſh nation*, it has (perhaps accidentally) eſcaped even the charge of Rebellion in 1715.' I admit that there was no rebellion in Ireland in 1715; this Mr. Plowden

attributes to the loyalty of the Iriſh Catholics to the Hanover ſucceſſion; but, from the Journals of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, third volume, Appendix xiv, laſt edition, we may learn, that at the breaking out of the Rebellion in Scotland in that year, there were in Ireland ſeven regiments of cavalry, of from ſix to nine troops each regiment, and twenty-three regiments of infantry of ten companies each, all Proteſtants or Engliſhmen. We need not therefore wonder that the public and ſecret friends of the Pretender 'thought fit to change the ſcene of action;' and thoſe who know Ireland at this day, will not be much ſurprized at the 'calm which it then enjoyed.' We find alſo the utmoſt diligence conſtantly employed to maintain and recruit this army. One of the reaſons, perhaps, why Scotland was choſen as the ſcene of action, was, becauſe that country was deſtitute of troops; and, in conſequence, George the Firſt was obliged to take from Ireland* two regiments of dragoons, and ten regiments of infantry, to oppoſe this Scottiſh inſurrection; which force the Iriſh Parliament inſtantly replaced by the † levy of five regiments of dragoons, and eight regiments of foot, all completed to the war eſtabliſhment; nor did the Iriſh Government even then feel itſelf ſo ſecure as Mr. Plowden repreſents, for they addreſſed the King for a ſupply of ‡ ten thouſand ſtand of arms, with a proportionable quantity of ammunition; and as a further ſecurity, they augmented the § militia; and upon a return made afterwards to the Houſe of Commons by the commiſſioners of array, we find that the Iriſh militia (including what are called independent companies) amounted to the following number: ‖ for Leinſter, ſixteen regiments of dragoons, fourteen regiments of foot; for Connaught, twelve regiments of dragoons, three regiments of foot; and for Ulſter and Munſter, forty regiments of cavalry, and twenty-two regiments of foot; and we find that ſome of the regiments of dragoons conſiſted of nine troops, and one of the foot (Tyrone) of ſixteen companies: an incredible force, had we not ſuch evidence as the Journals of the Houſe of Commons. We cannot therefore be much ſurprized that the Government of Ireland felt ſecure, or that 'the traitorous enemies of the King were diſcouraged by their *early and ſteady* zeal for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion;' and in the ſame third volume of the Commons' Journal of Ireland, are ſeveral addreſſes to the juſtices, requiring them to offer rewards for the diſcovery of ſuch Papiſts as ſhould enliſt in theſe new levies, ſo that we are at no loſs to determine of what perſuaſion of religion theſe troops were; that, notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the cauſe of the Pretender did derive ſome aſſiſtance from 'Catholic Ireland,' is evident from the following paragraph in the addreſs of the 23d of January, 1716¶. 'Your faithful Commons do therefore humbly beg leave to

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"* Iriſh Commons' Journals, vol. iii, Appendix, p. 15, third edition."

"† Ibid, ſee the liſt of theſe new regiments, Appendix, p. xxxix."

"‡ Ibid, p. 41, anſwer of Lords-Juſtices to Addreſs of the Houſe."

"§ Ibid, p. 10."

"‖ Commons' Journal of Ireland, Appendix, p. clxiii, third vol. Story in his Hiſtory writes, that the Proteſtant militia of Ireland amounted to 40,000 men, in the reign of King William."

"¶ They voted the Earl of Anneſley, whom they ſuppoſed in the intereſt of the Pretender, by conniving at this emigration, 'an enemy to his Majeſty,' and he was removed from his office of Vice-treaſurer of Ireland."

acquaint your Majeſty, that ſoon after the meeting of the late Parliament in this kingdom, the then Houſe of Commons received information, that many Iriſh Papiſts had been and continued daily to be ſhipped off from Dublin and other ports, for the ſervice of the Pretender.' But the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, not content alone with arraying this very * large army, took further precautions; for, in anſwer from the Lords-Juſtices to the addreſs of the Houſe brought up by Mr. Secretary Bladen, I find the following paragraph: 'upon the firſt intelligence we had of the Pretender landing in North Britain, we directed that circular letters ſhould be written to the ſheriffs, magiſtrates, &c. requiring them, at the ſame time, ſtrictly to execute the laws againſt Papiſts, and to ſecure not only the arms and ſerviceable horſes, but likewiſe the perſons of ſuch as they had juſt reaſons to ſuſpect, taking care to proceed therein according to law, *and as has been uſually practiſed in like caſes of danger.*' Becauſe, therefore, the circumſpection and activity of a very vigilant Government prevented any motions of rebellion, are we to infer (in contradiction to ſuch evidences of precaution) that no diſpoſition towards it then exiſted in Ireland? Is it, let me aſk, reconcilable to common ſenſe, that Parliament after Parliament, and Viceroy after Viceroy, ſhould have ſtyled the Iriſh Catholics of that day 'the common enemy,' if their conduct had been ſo loyal, dutiful, and unequivocal, as this writer chooſes to repreſent it? Why do we not find the ſame precautions taken againſt that '*Oliverian* party' (I preſume he means the Iriſh Diſſenters) which, in the reign immediately preceding, *he repreſents* having created ſuch dread and alarm, as to cauſe the Iriſh Houſe of Lords to petition the Queen for an union of the two kingdoms. Surely ſuch miſtatements of facts, and ſuch inconſiſtent deductions from them, can only impoſe upon the moſt ſtupid and prejudiced.

"I meet a ſtriking inſtance of this inconſiſtent deduction in p. 251 of this ſketch of George the Firſt's reign; after mentioning that the Lord-Lieutenant had given the royal aſſent to an Act, 'to exempt Proteſtant Diſſenters from certain penalties,' he gives an extract of the ſpeech of the Duke of Grafton, on putting an end to the ſeſſion:

"'The advanced ſeaſon of the year makes it neceſſary for me to put an end to the ſeſſion, that you may have an opportunity *to take care of the public peace* in your ſeveral counties, and to keep a vigilant eye over *thoſe who have a deſign to diſturb it*; but of this you will have leſs occaſion to be apprehenſive, if you ſhall uſe your beſt endeavours to cultivate that, which will be your beſt ſecurity againſt all foreign and *domeſtic enemies*; and which, for *that reaſon*, I muſt in a *ſpecial manner* recommend to you in the words of one of theſe excellent bills paſſed this day, I mean an union in intereſts and affection amongſt *all* his Majeſty's ſubjects.'

"He then accuſes the Duke of Grafton of having intended, by theſe expreſſions, to give the Catholics hopes, becauſe they had ſhown no ſymptoms of inſurrection, when Alberoni's expedition againſt England, of *ſix*

"* Our anceſtors ſeem to have been of opinion, that a large military force (upon which they could rely) and conſtant vigilance were the ſureſt modes of keeping down the diſaffected party in Ireland: if we are to judge of the policy by its ſucceſs, they were not ſuch blockheads as Mr. Plowden ſeems to think them, viz. 'if the conduct of our anceſtors did not baffle all conjecture,' and ſuch other expreſſions."

thouſand men, had been diſperſed by a ſtorm off Cape Finiſterre; and becauſe they had remained tranquil at a time, when the ſtanding * army of Ireland was increaſed to ten regiments of cavalry, and twenty of infantry of the line, beſides the militia. 'The people,' ſays Mr. P. 'read what they never experienced, and ſmarted under what they never read.' Now, who were the *domeſtic enemies* that the Duke adviſed the members to have a vigilant eye over? And who were thoſe likely to diſturb the peace of their counties, for which reaſon he put an end to the ſeſſion? And, upon reference to the preamble of the Act, to which his Grace alluded, viz. the Act exempting Proteſtant Diſſenters from certain penalties, I find theſe words: 'whereas the granting ſome eaſe and indulgence to the Proteſtant Diſſenters in the exerciſe of religion may be an effectual means to unite his Majeſty's *Proteſtant ſubjects* in intereſt and affection.' It is evident, therefore, from the Duke of Grafton's adverting to the preamble of the ſtatute, that he alluded to *all* his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects; and that he did not hold out any hopes to 'the common enemy,' as we find the Papiſts then ſtyled. I ſhould not perhaps have noticed this circumſtance, had I not conſidered ſuch an unfounded charge of duplicity againſt a former Chief-Governor to be at this day dangerous and irritating. This writer's inaccuracies may be inadvertent, but in my opinion his Hiſtory (not *of* but) *for* Ireland, is calculated to do infinite miſchief among that claſs of Iriſh, to whoſe prejudices it is written, and whoſe errors it is ſo calculated to confirm."

Mr. Plowden, who never miſſes an opportunity of degrading and vilifying the governments of England and Ireland, aſſerts in pages 253, 254, without any authority whatſoever, that the Duke of Grafton, then Viceroy, recommended to the Iriſh Houſe of Commons to bring in a bill, or a clauſe in a bill, for caſtrating every Popiſh prieſt in Ireland †; and which he poſitively ſays was inſerted in a bill, to prevent the growth of Popery. He further ſays, that it was neceſſary for Cardinal Fleury to intercede with Mr. Walpole, to have this clauſe expunged. This ingenious writer declares (what is ſtrictly true) that this is a groundleſs calumny, and that "it has been the offſpring of that *inventive acrimony* which then rankled, and at this day rankles, in the breaſts of the Iriſh prieſts ‡ againſt the Proteſtant government of Ireland." This judicious writer makes the following ſtrictures on Mr. Plowden's Hiſtorical Review of George the Second's Reign.

"* See Comm. Journ. Ireland, vol. iii, App. cxxi."

† It ſhould not be forgotten, that Mr. Plowden propoſed to the Miniſter of England, Mr. Addington, now Lord Sidmouth, in the year 1801, to write ſuch a hiſtory of Ireland, as would reconcile all religious orders in it, extinguiſh the acrimony exiſting among them, and reconcile them to the Union, for which he ſtipulated to receive as a reward for his ſervices 300*l*, and which he actually got. All this he acknowledges in his poſtliminious preface. It is evident that this calumnious fabrication muſt have a contrary tendency.

‡ It ought to be remembered that Mr. Plowden was bred a Jeſuit at St. Omers.

" I proceed to the reign of George II. Upon the acceſſion of his late Majeſty, Mr. Plowden informs us, the Iriſh Catholics preſented an addreſs of congratulation upon the occaſion (pp. 264, 265) ' but it was received with ſilent contempt ;' for which fact he gives us no authority but his own aſſertion: and this addreſs, he admits, ' was not carried without a conſiderable diviſion of the Catholic body ;' ſuch was their unanimity in giving this formal profeſſion of loyalty! Mr. Plowden goes on, ' the ſevere ordeal which Catholic loyalty had paſſed during the reign of George the Firſt, had, it ſeems, ſo far blunted the edge of calumny, that public vituperation was no longer prudent.' I am no friend to vituperation; for, I think, meaſures of precaution may be taken againſt any diſaffected party in any ſtate, without having recourſe to irritating epithets. The Iriſh Houſe of Commons, which ſat after the acceſſion of George the Second, ſeems to have been of this opinion. I find Lord Carteret, in his ſpeech upon opening the ſeſſion in November, 1727, recommending to the members to ' enforce the execution of the laws for the ſafety of the public, and the preventing Popiſh prieſts and regulars from coming into the kingdom *:' and I find the Commons thanking the Lord-Lieutenant for expreſſing his Majeſty's intention of ſending back the troops upon the Iriſh eſtabliſhment; and for his own precautionary meaſures to diſappoint *all* † the King's enemies. It appears, therefore, that at the commencement of the late reign, the Iriſh government continued the ſyſtem of unabating vigilance, and wiſely abandoned the ſyſtem of ' vituperation.'

" Throughout every part of this work, as far as I have hitherto gone, I find this writer conſiſtent in ſelecting ſuch topics as are imprudent and irritating. ' However grievous,' he obſerves, ' were the penal laws impoſed upon the Catholics during the reigns of Elizabeth and Anne, it is but juſtice to allow, that *none* of them had deprived them of the *elective franchiſe*' (Hiſt. Review, p. 263). Upon a reference to the ſecond volume of the Iriſh Commons' Journal, p. 230, I find, that in the reign of King William the Houſe of Commons of Ireland came unanimouſly to the following reſolution: ' reſolved, nem. con. that the excluding of Papiſts from having votes for electing any members to ſerve in Parliament is neceſſary to be made into a law;' the next reſolution paſſed was, ' that ſome further oath, beſides that of fidelity, was abſolutely neceſſary;' and the laſt was, ' that an oath, renouncing the Papal authority in *this* kingdom, is neceſſary for the peace and quiet thereof;' a committee was accordingly ſtruck, which, upon the firſt of December following, brought up their report of the laws then in exiſtence againſt Papiſts; and amongſt them I find, that by the ' new rules made in purſuance, and by virtue of, the Acts of Settlement and Explanation,' no perſon is capable of acting as Mayor, Sovereign, *Burgeſs*, or holding any employment in any corporation or walled town in the kingdom, without taking the oath ‡, 2do. Elizabethæ, i. e. the oath of ſupremacy, and the oath of allegiance §.

" * See vol. iii, Iriſh Comm. Journals, pp. 464, 467."

" † The expreſſion, ' common enemy,' was then for the firſt time dropped."

" ‡ This continued to be the oath of ſupremacy in Ireland; in this country a new oath of ſupremacy was appointed by 3 Will. and Mary 2."

" § Theſe ' new rules' are to be found in the third volume of the Iriſh

" Upon the acceſſion of Queen Anne, I find a Bill to prevent the growth of Popery, paſſed in the ſecond year of her reign; and, by the 14th ſection, ' for the preventing Papiſts having it in their power to breed diſſentions amongſt Proteſtants, by voting at elections of Members of Parliament,' I find them required to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration; which, from this preamble to the 14th ſection, ſeems to have been an expedient deviſed to exclude them all together from voting; and upon a reference to the ſecond volume of the Iriſh Journals, p. 612, I find, that upon the petition of a Mr. Cuffe againſt a Mr. Cole, complaining of an undue election for the borough of Iriſhtown, the right of Papiſts to vote came in queſtion, and was decided againſt them; by this deciſion, thirty-ſix Papiſts who had * offered to vote for Mr. Cuffe were not allowed as good votes; and Mr. Cole, who had been returned by the Portreeve, as having the majority of Proteſtant votes, kept his ſeat; and from the report of the committee, of the evidence upon this petition preſented to the Houſe, June 22, 1709, it appears, that the petitioner's own clerk declared, ' that he believes Papiſts voted formerly, but not of late years;' another witneſs ſwears, ' that Papiſts had been excluded ſince King James's time;' nor could the petitioner's counſel produce any evidence, that they had been ever ſuffered to vote ſince the Revolution; which they ſurely would have done, could they have found a precedent: nor is there an entry on the Iriſh Journal to prove their right of voting.

" This Act, therefore, ' the firſt of George II, chap. 9, for the better regulating the return of members to ſerve in Parliament,' did not *firſt* deprive the Catholics of the *elective franchiſe*, as Mr. Plowden elegantly expreſſes it, Hiſt. Review, p. 269, ' *bruſhed off* four-fifths of the people of Ireland from any repreſentation in Parliament:' the ſeventh ſection † therefore of this Act, which commences with the expreſſions, ' for the *better* preventing Papiſts from voting,' &c. ſeems to be a recognition or continuation of what had been the law ſince the Revolution, and which it was of courſe neceſſary to take notice of, in a new Bill for regulating the elections of Members of Parliament.

" Mr. Plowden in this part of his work complains grievouſly, that ‡ ' Engliſh intereſt' had ſuch a ſway in the government of Ireland during this reign. It appears to me, however, to have been inſeparable from the nature of that connection, which then ſubſiſted between the countries; and, from the preſent incorporation, it muſt become more and more predominant: and I truſt that this Engliſh intereſt will never loſe ſight of Ireland; becauſe I am apprehenſive, that at this day, as well as in the reign of George the Second, there are but too many of the Iriſh people, who

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ſtatutes, from p. 197 to p. 239; they were made in the reign of Charles the Second, and continued to be the laws of that land until the repeal of the Popery code."

" * N. B. The Portreeve refuſed to take *their votes* at the huſtings; but took down their *names*. Hiſt. Review, p. 269."

" † There is no other proof, except Mr. Plowden's aſſertion, that this ſeventh ſection was introduced into the Bill without notice, debate, or *council*; I preſume he meant *counſel*."

" ‡ Hiſt. Review, p. 263, et ſequentes."

'would not be very forward in ſupporting ſuch *foreign* aſcendancy, whether Engliſh or Proteſtant:' and yet upon this aſcendancy, whether Proteſtant or Engliſh (I am inclined to think them inſeparable) the connection which has hitherto ſubſiſted between the countries has depended; for, I truſt, I have ſatisfactorily proved that thoſe who have been forward in oppoſing this *foreign* aſcendancy, have ſyſtematically availed themſelves of every chance of diſſolving that connection, whenever the internal diſtractions of England or the preſſure of foreign war preſented an opportunity, which was likely to offer them a proſpect of ſucceſs. It is a memorable fact, however, that from the reign of Queen Anne to the acceſſion of our preſent Monarch, though Ireland laboured under every diſadvantage from a limited trade, or ſcarcely any trade; though ſhe was ruled by a Parliament, whoſe powers were circumſcribed; nevertheleſs, that kingdom was kept in tranquillity by *that foreign aſcendancy*, or at leaſt its diſcontent never ripened into a formidable rebellion: and although, during the period I have alluded to, England was almoſt conſtantly involved in wars, wherein ſhe was often deſerted by fortune; nevertheleſs, Ireland, upon three * memorable occaſions, was enabled to lend her ſtanding army to Great Britain for her defence, and never once during that period endangered her exiſtence. It is a melancholy reflection to the moraliſt, as well as the politician (I ſpeak with freedom, and hope to be anſwered by argument, and not by clamour) it is a melancholy reflection, that the diſcontents of that kingdom have kept pace with the advantages which ſhe has ſince obtained, and that her alienation from England has grown with her growth, and ſtrengthened with her ſtrength.

"Were I to inveſtigate the cauſe of this national inconſiſtency (I ſhall not uſe an harſher phraſe) I might trace it in conjunction with other cauſes to the exertions of ſome of thoſe *patriots*, who preferred, not an Iriſh to an Engliſh intereſt; but their own intereſt to the ſafety and tranquillity of their country. Thoſe bold popular adventurers, who, for the purpoſes of their own aggrandiſement, were ever ready to take up the claims of any diſcontented party, or to bring forward any imaginary grievance, of which there never can be a want in any free ſtate. Theſe are the men who have weakened that '*foreign*' aſcendancy, whether Engliſh or Proteſtant, to which I do not heſitate to affirm, Ireland owed its tranquillity, from the Revolution to the year 1782. To purſue the trade of politics, the lawyer left his briefs, and the citizen his counter, and as it was unfortunately encouraged by *bounties*, Ireland ſuffered all the miſchiefs which uſually attend a *forced trade* in any country. Time and labour (capital there was none) were diverted from thoſe channels, in which alone they could have been uſeful, into one impure and violent torrent, from which have branched out all the evils that have deluged that country. But the rebellion of 1798 muſt have at length convinced the Proteſtant part of her inhabitants, that they can find no ſolid ſecurity from the attacks of their external and internal enemies, but in the protection of Great Britain; and the ſubmiſſion with which they acquieſced in a † *meaſure*, that wounded all their pride, and all

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"* The rebellion of Scotland in 1715; when Alberoni threatened a deſcent in 1719; and the rebellion in Scotland in 1745."

"† The Union."

their prejudices; and the zeal with which they have *ſince* come forward in * its ſupport (without incumbering their offers with claims, or † hints at claims) muſt convince the Britiſh nation, that whilſt it upholds *that party* in Ireland, the connection of the countries can never be diſſolved.

"To return to Mr. Plowden's work from this digreſſion, into which I was led by the reflections which he has made in this part of his work, upon the effects of the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland; how far his reflections are calculated to give his Iriſh readers an encouraging proſpect of the conſequences of the Union, 'which is the primary object of his publication,' I hope they will diſcover, although beyond my comprehenſion."

This writer then proceeds to follow Mr. Plowden "to his reiterated eulogiums upon the loyalty of the Iriſh Catholics to the Houſe of Hanover, and the cruel return which he complains was made to them for their unſhaken attachment to the throne."

As a proof of it, this judicious writer preſents the reader with a conſpiracy of the Popiſh clergy of Ireland, againſt the Houſe of Hanover, which is given at large, in the 79th page of theſe excellent Strictures on Mr. Plowden's Review. We ſhall give the ſubſtance of it. Father Henneſy, a Popiſh prieſt of Doneraile, in the county of Cork, ſwore an information before Lord Doneraile and John Love, Eſq. the 3d of January, 1733, of the following purport:

"That, at the cloſe of the year 1729, he was at the houſe of MacCarthy, alias Rabah, the titular biſhop of Cork, in company with the titular biſhops of Limerick and Killaloe, and Dr. Jones, a Franciſcan friar, who delivered a letter from Dr. Butler, Popiſh archbiſhop of Caſhel, acquainting them, that he had received a letter from the Pope's internuncio at Bruſſels ‡, informing him, that the Pope had complied with the requeſt of the archbiſhops and biſhops of Ireland; and that his Holineſs had ſent them an indulgence for ten years, in order to raiſe a ſum of money, to be ſpeedily applied to reſtore King James' III to his right, and to put the preſent King and all the royal family to the ſword." "Soon after Henneſy received a letter, and a copy of the Pope's bull, from his ſaid biſhop, MacCarthy, alias Rabah, with inſtructions ſtrictly to obey the ſame, the purport of which is as follows:

"'That every communicant, duly confeſſing, and receiving the ſacrament, upon the patron days of every reſpective pariſh, and any Sunday from the firſt of May to September, having repeated the Lord's Prayer five times, and once the Apoſtles Creed, upon paying *two pence* each time,

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"* On the 23d of July, 1803."

"† Vide the laſt Iriſh Catholic Addreſs to the King in 1803."

‡ Formerly the Iriſh Roman Catholics had always an agent at Bruſſels. Doctor Troy, the titular archbiſhop of Dublin, tells us, in his paſtoral letter, publiſhed in 1793, that *now* there is a ſtanding cabinet of cardinals at Rome, for the eccleſiaſtical government of Ireland. The preſent Pope is the tool of Buonaparte, and the latter appoints, through him, all the Iriſh biſhops. This accounts for the ſtrong attachment which the Popiſh multitude in Ireland have ever manifeſted for Buonaparte.

was to have a *plenary indulgence for their ſins*, and all approved confeſſors had full power to *abſolve in all caſes*, with intent that God would ſpeedily place James III on the throne of England.'"

He further ſwore, "that each pariſh prieſt was obliged to pay *five pounds per annum*, towards this pious purpoſe: that the ſeveral biſhops were the collectors; and that Garnet Nayle, brother to the ſolicitor *, was the pretender's agent in Flanders, for receiving this money: and that they had 1500*l* to remit." A full ſtatement of this conſpiracy, with Father Henneſy's information, and various papers diſcovered and ſeized, which coincide with, and corroborate it, is to be found in the fourth volume, Appendix 46 of the Commons Journals, laſt edition. This writer concludes this ſingular tranſaction with the following remark. "Such was the loyalty of the Catholic biſhops of Ireland to his late Majeſty George II!" Can we therefore be much ſurpriſed at the policy which led the Iriſh Houſe of Commons to repeal the teſt in favour of the Diſſenters, in order to create an union among all the Proteſtants of Ireland, who by this report ſeem then to have had a common intereſt, and the ſame *common enemy*?

This writer obſerves thus on the following groſs calumny on the Engliſh Government, ſtated by Mr. Plowden, in p. 292. "We are next informed by this writer, 'that upon a report of Marſhall Saxe's intention to make a deſcent on England, a ſerious propoſal had been made in Council, that as the Papiſts had begun the maſſacre on the Proteſtants in 1641, it was but juſt and reaſonable, in that critical juncture, to retaliate in like manner upon the Papiſts †.' In ſupport of which aſſertion, his readers will remark, that he produces no one authority, not even a marginal note, as in the affair about the prieſts, and the clauſe againſt them."

Mr. Plowden, in p. 293, inſiſts on the ſteady loyalty of the Iriſh Papiſts during the rebellion of 1745 in Scotland, which he attributes to Lord Cheſterfield's lenient government, and their attachment to the Houſe of Hanover. This writer gives an extract from the ſpeech of that liberal and enlightened nobleman to the Houſe of Commons, at the beginning of the ſeſſion, which unequivocally proves, that he entertained very unfavourable ſentiments of their fidelity, "to conſider whether nothing further can be done, either by *new laws*, or the more effectual execution of thoſe in being, to ſecure this nation againſt the *great number of Papiſts*, whoſe ſpeculative errors would only deſerve pity, if their pernicious principles

* Henneſy ſwore that there was an agent for each province, and that Joſeph Nayle, the ſolicitor, reſident at Cork, was agent for Munſter.

† Mr. Plowden would reduce the Britiſh Cabinet to a level with the bloody Committee at Paris, who brought about the dreadful maſſacres which took place there on the 2d of September, 1792.

upon ſociety did not require and authorize reſtraints*." This writer obſerves thereon, "if ſuch a recommendation, coming from ſuch a man as Lord Cheſterfield, at the beginning of a ſeſſion, does not beſpeak diſtruſt of the Catholics of that day, at leaſt the following paragraph in his ſpeech upon cloſing the ſeſſion, bears no very favourable teſtimony to their conduct." "The concurrent zeal and active loyalty of all his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects of all denominations, throughout that kingdom, prove at once how ſenſible and deſerving they are of his care and protection. Even *thoſe deluded people who ſcarcely acknowledge his government* †, ſeem by their conduct to have tacitly confeſſed the advantages they enjoy under it. At my return to his Majeſty's preſence, I ſhall not fail faithfully to repreſent theſe truths, ſince the moſt faithful will at the ſame time be moſt favourably repreſented."

After adducing other proofs of the diſaffection of the Iriſh Papiſts, our author obſerves, "If, therefore, Ireland at this period remained in tranquillity, it was owing to the ſpeedy defeat of the Pretender's attempt in Scotland, and to the wiſe and vigilant government of Lord Cheſterfield ‡; for which the Iriſh Houſe of Commons voted him their thanks, in their Addreſs of the 8th of April, 1746." It is moſt certain, that many Iriſh gentlemen of the Catholic perſuaſion went to Scotland, and were engaged in the battle of Culloden; but haſtily, and with the utmoſt privacy, they returned after the Pretender's defeat. Their ſons, feeling the inconvenience of the penal reſtraints, and ſenſible that they could not attain any degree of conſequence while members of their own church, became converts to Proteſtantiſm; and they are now among the moſt loyal of the King's ſubjects. This writer concludes his Strictures on Mr. Plowden's review of this reign, with the following obſervations.

"In the courſe of theſe Strictures, I have been obliged to conſult the moſt various, and the moſt unexceptionable authorities; and the reſult has been, that from the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to the acceſſion of our preſent Monarch, the diſcontented Catholic party in Ireland ſyſtematically aimed at ſeparation from England, by the overthrow of the Engliſh intereſt and government; and for that purpoſe, maintained a conſtant connection with ſome foreign power. Whilſt Spain was the moſt powerful monarchy in Europe, I find this Catholic party looking to that court for aſſiſtance, in the accompliſhment of their views; upon the declenſion of the

* Theſe expreſſions of this Viceroy are much ſtronger than any that were uſed by any of his predeceſſors concerning the Iriſh Papiſts, for they deſcribed them in their ſpeeches, as the *common enemy*, without ever alluding to them as Papiſts or Roman Catholics.

† It is to be lamented, that ever ſince the removal of the penal reſtraints, they have manifeſted a determination to ſeparate Ireland from England, with the aid of the French Government.

‡ Aided by a numerous army.

Spaniſh power in Europe, I find them forming a connection with France *, and from the year 1700, to the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty, a *good underſtanding* ſubſiſted between that party and the cabinet of Verſailles. How then can any liberal Catholic in Ireland, at this day, look back on the conduct of his anceſtors with ſatisfaction, much leſs with exultation?"

Mr. Plowden is of a different opinion; for in a publication of his, entitled "The Caſe Stated," p. 17, he ſays, "If any one ſays, or pretends to inſinuate, that the modern Roman Catholics, who are the objects of the late bounty of Parliament, differ in one iota from their predeceſſors, he is either deceived himſelf, or he wiſhes to deceive others. Semper eadem is more emphatically deſcriptive of our religion than of our juriſprudence."

This excellent writer begins thus his Strictures on Mr. Plowden's Review of our preſent gracious Sovereign's reign.

"I have now come to the 'Third Part' of my Strictures on Mr. Plowden's work. In the Second Part I have ſhewn, that the various efforts made by 'Catholic Ireland' from the Revolution to the cloſe of the reign of George the Second, to foment rebellions, were defeated by the vigilance and activity of the Iriſh governments, or, as Mr. P. would perhaps expreſs it, by 'that *foreign* aſcendancy whether Engliſh or Proteſtant.' During this period a very large ſtanding army†, a Proteſtant militia, and a code of rigorous laws, kept Catholic Ireland in ſullen obedience. Since the acceſſion of his gracious Majeſty George the Third, a very material alteration has taken place in the ſyſtem of policy adopted towards that kingdom.

"During this period, what has been called the conciliatory, but which, in our opinion, may more properly be ſtyled the conceding, ſyſtem has been tried. It was fondly expected, that the removal of civil and religious diſabilities would have cordially reconciled 'Catholic Ireland' to the throne and the Proteſtant government. Nearly thirty years have elapſed ſince this experiment has been tried and perſevered in: with what ſucceſs, I ſhall have ſome opportunities of obſerving in the courſe of this Part of my Strictures."

Mr. P. begins his review of this reign with a falſe account of the origin and progreſs of a Popiſh banditti, called White Boys‡, who continued many years to commit the moſt barbarous outrages, for the evident purpoſe of concealing their treaſonable deſigns againſt the State. The author of theſe Strictures gives the following accurate account of them.

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* They applied for aſſiſtance to raiſe a rebellion and engage the empire in a war ſo early as the year 1628, to the Pope, the Kings of France and Spain. See p. 237 of our 24th volume for proof of this.

"† Story, in his Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of Ireland, laſt page, ſays, that even in King William's reign the Proteſtant militia of Ireland amounted to 40,000 men."

‡ Sir Richard Muſgrave, in his Hiſtory of the Iriſh rebellion, gives a minute and well authenticated account of them.

" One of the moſt active fomenters of theſe *riots* was a prieſt of the name of Father Nicholas Sheehy, who, having been tried at the Court of King's Bench in Ireland, and acquitted for want of ſufficient evidence, returned to the South; and, emboldened by his eſcape, continued his treaſonable practices without that reſerve and caution which he had at firſt adopted. He was therefore a ſecond time apprehended, was tried at the aſſizes of Clonmel, found guilty upon the cleareſt evidence, and executed accordingly. Thoſe who in ſecret had abetted his practices were ſo incenſed at the loſs of their moſt uſeful agitator, that every art was made uſe of by them to vilify the jury, the judge, and the government; and, by the knaves of his party, he was repreſented to the fools of it as a martyr to the Catholic cauſe; exactly in the ſame manner as, in the year 1798, a moſt active united Iriſhman of the name of Orr, who was tried before the Chief Baron of the Iriſh Exchequer, and found guilty upon the moſt ſatisfactory evidence, was ſtyled 'the murdered Orr;' and the reſpectable Judge (Lord Avonmore) who tried him, having, in conſequence of his evident guilt, refuſed to recommend him to mercy, was maligned (as well as the jurymen who found him guilty) by every falſehood which the ingenuity of Iriſh treaſon could deviſe*. Mr. Plowden inſiſts upon the innocence of this Father Sheehy, whom he moſt unwarrantably repreſents as 'a victim†' ſelected 'to anſwer the views of thoſe who, from their own *private ends*, connived at and fomented theſe tumults.' Could it have ſerved the intereſts of the Proteſtant clergyman to be deprived of his tythes? or could it have anſwered the views of the Proteſtant landlord to have his rents lowered? two of the *avowed* objects of theſe inſurgents. Though I am aware that Mr. P. has received all his information relative to 'Catholic Ireland' from the moſt exceptionable ſources, I cannot help expreſſing my ſurprize that he ſhould have given credit to the groſs calumnies which have been reported to him.

" I ſhall now lay before my readers extracts from the evidence, upon oath, of ſome of the parties implicated in this inſurrection; which will prove to them, not only the guilt of Father Nicholas Sheehy, but alſo the real objects and the *principal inſtigators* of *this White Boy* rebellion; and my readers will no doubt be of opinion with me, that legal evidence is rather more to be depended upon than Mr. Plowden's authorities, *to wit*, the aforeſaid Dr. Campbell, Exſhaw's Gentleman's Magazine, his own *private* information, or even A. Young.

" 'The information of Matthias O'Brien, Popiſh prieſt, ſworn before Thomas Butler, Eſq., Mayor of the city of Kilkenny, on the 24th of January, 1768.' In this the ſaid Matthias O'Brien ſwears, 'that the late tumultuous riſing of White Boys which prevailed in the ſouthern parts of this kingdom were ſet on foot for the ſole end and purpoſe, to informant's certain knowledge, in order to raiſe therein a ſpirit of ſedition and diſaffection to his Majeſty's perſon and government, which might be of uſe to ſupport a foreign invaſion, cetainly intended againſt this kingdom at a convenient time, in favour of Prince Charles, otherwiſe the Pretender to

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" * The wretched beings of the lower orders whom they ſeduced were conſigned to their fate without remorſe or feeling."

" † Hiſt. Review, p. 340."

theſe realms; and that the cauſes commonly alledged for theſe riſings by the ſaid White Boys were but mere pretences, and calculated to conceal the above ſecret deſign. Informant depoſeth, that theſe diſorders were fomented originally by foreign agents in conjunction with ſome Catholic biſhops, particularly Dr. James Butler, titular archbiſhop of Caſhel (in whoſe houſe or chapel there were papers of a treaſonable nature concealed), and others of his clergy, aſſiſted by ſeveral gentlemen of the ſame perſuaſion. That informant was early apprized from his ſtation, then as coadjutor to his aforeſaid Biſhop Dr. Butler, of their dangerous ſchemes againſt his Majeſty and the eſtabliſhed Government.' And after ſwearing that, by his exertions in his chair of confeſſion, he had prevented ſeveral White Boys from murdering ſome gentlemen who had been very active againſt them, and whoſe names are mentioned in his depoſition, he further ſwears 'that his reaſon for knowing the ſaid ſchemes and deſigns to be true is, that the ſaid Dr Butler did ſolemnly bind him to the following oath, to be true and faithful to the Church of Rome, and to promote its good, and to be faithful to him, the ſaid Dr. Butler, his archbiſhop:' and having ſigned ſuch oath in writing, Dr. Butler, he ſwears, told him, 'that theſe riſings of the White Boys were ſet on foot ſolely for the advancement of the Roman Catholic faith, and the *extirpation of hereſy* in this kingdom; and that as there was but one God, there ſhould be but one religion; and to reſtore the ſame *Vetus Hibernia*, by making her faithful ſons riſe in rebellion to ſupport France, or other countries, to eſtabliſh Prince Charles on the Britiſh throne. Informant ſwears, he hath no other motive for diſcovering ſaid conſpiracy, but to preſerve peace, and to prevent effuſion of blood in this kingdom.'

"The information of David Landregin, of the county of Tipperary, farmer, ſworn before John Hewetſon, Eſq. a magiſtrate of ſaid county, on the 15th March, 1767.

"In this the ſaid Landregin ſwears, 'that he was inliſted in March 1762, in the White Boy ſociety, by Mr. Robert Keatinge of the ſaid county; that he attended their parades, that he was upon ſeveral expeditions, and was *commanded by Father Nicholas Sheehy*, and Edmond Sheehy; that at one of their meetings Father Nicholas Sheehy adminiſtered the oaths; and that at another meeting he propoſed to five hundred of them to attack the town of Clogheen, and to murder the Earl (at preſent Marquis) of Drogheda, and to get the arms of his troops,' and he declares their object was to fight for King Charles (the then Pretender.)

"And the information of Thomas Rawley, of the county of Tipperary, farmer, ſworn before the ſame magiſtrate, in the ſame month, gives the ſame account of the objects of the White Boys, and the activity of Father Nicholas Sheehy, with this addition, 'that at a meeting of the White Boys at Myre, in 1763, it was reſolved on to burn the houſes of the Proteſtants, and to maſſacre them in one night, after a landing made by the French, as was expected.'

"The information of Mr. James Farrel, of Rehill, in the county of Tipperary, gentleman, ſworn before John Hewetſon, Eſq. the 18th April, 1766.

"Mr. Farrel in this ſwears, 'that he was inliſted into the Society of White Boys by the late Father Nicholas Sheehy, under the oath of allegiance and fidelity to Prince Charles, and the King of France; that he *received his*

commiſſion as a Major in their ſervice, and his pay regularly;' and he ſwears ' that the heads of the ſaid rebellion are James Butler, titular archbiſhop of Caſhel, Pierce Creagh, titular biſhop of Waterford, Dr. Butler, titular biſhop of Cork, Dr. Fitzſimons, titular archbiſhop of Dublin,' with a long liſt of pariſh prieſts and inferior clergy, too numerous to inſert, ' each of whom ſupplied ſaid Father* Nicholas Sheehy with money, to pay ſaid White Boys, and to ſupport ſaid inſurrection.' I might here add the reſolutions of the different grand juries of Ireland from time to time, the debates in Parliament, the various acts made by the Iriſh legiſlature againſt them, the rules of the Society of White Boys, *almoſt ſimilar to thoſe of the United Iriſhmen*, &c. &c. but I have preferred the evidence upon oath of the parties implicated, which can leave no doubt upon any impartial man's mind that the White Boys were then confederated for the purpoſes of treaſon and rebellion†.

" The White Boys firſt made their appearance and aſſumed their appellation in 1759, when Monſieur Conflans and the other French fleets were expected with troops on the coaſt of Ireland: upon the failure of that great expedition, they continued quiet for ſome time. In 1762, in conſequence of an expected invaſion from France, they appeared again in great force: upon the peace with France theſe tumults ceaſed. They were revived in all their fury in 1784, then in 1787, and again in 1789, previous to the agitation of the Catholic Queſtion, at which period they *framed and adminiſtered the following oath of allegiance*: ' We are bound to his Majeſty King George the Third, and his ſucceſſors to the crown; *ſo, for this preſent year* 1789, we promiſe faithfully the ſame obedience, and alſo *whilſt we live ſubject to the ſame* government‡.' "

Mr. Plowden, in order to varniſh over the traitorous conſpiracy for which the White Boys were organized, invents the following

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" * As to Father Sheehy's declaration of innocence at the gallows, every man at all acquainted with ' Catholic Ireland' knows, that almoſt every criminal of the Catholic Religion dies at the gallows proteſting his innocence. And as to Mr. Plowden's extract of part of a report from a commiſſion, inſtituted to enquire into the cauſes of theſe diſturbances, viz. ' that the authors of theſe *riots* conſiſted indiſcriminately of perſons of different perſuaſions, and that no marks of diſaffection to his Majeſty's perſon or government appeared in any of theſe people,' (ſee p. 339,) I can find no ſuch report, but have found *this paragraph verbatim* in the Whitehall Evening Poſt, of the 4th of May, 1762, which paragraph was no doubt written in Ireland, and ſent over here for inſertion, by ſome abettor of this inſurrection, in order to deceive the people of England: a *practice very ſyſtematically purſued of late years.*"

" † The original depoſitions from whence theſe were furniſhed to me are now in the Crown Office in Ireland."

" ‡ Sir Richard Muſgrave, in the firſt volume of his third edition of his Hiſtory of the different Rebellions in Ireland, ſtates, ' that Mr. Conway, an Iriſh Roman Catholic gentleman reſident at Paris, uſed to remit money to the White Boys, on the part and by orders of the French Government, ſoon after their firſt organization; and that ſome Catholic merchants of the province of Munſter, who received and diſtributed it, were afterwards members of the Catholic committee, in 1792.' "

ſtory, which had no foundation whatſoever:—that a murrain among the cattle of Holſtein, which, ſome how or other, was introduced into Ireland, together with the high price of beef, butter, and cheeſe, and the avarice of monopolizers, with the practice of converting tillage lands into paſturage, "turned adrift this forlorn peaſantry," who (as the ingenious author of theſe Strictures ironically obſerves) harboured not a ſentiment of diſaffection to the government, but continued to riot (for nearly thirty years) as our common people have ſometimes done (for a week or ſo) on account of the high price of proviſions.

Mr. P. tells us, in p. 170 of his ſecond volume, that the White Boy inſurrection of 1784, when at its height, was put an end to by "the loyal and vigorous efforts of Doctor Troy, then Roman Catholic Biſhop of Oſſory, and the clergy of his dioceſe*, for which he received the moſt ſatisfactory acknowledgments from the Government." The author of theſe Strictures, in p. 93, very truly obſerves, that "great is the influence which the Roman Catholic religion, by its tenets, gives to its clergy, over thoſe of their communion." This was evinced in a moſt extraordinary manner during the rebellion of 1798, when the Popiſh prieſts could inſtigate the Iriſh peaſants, naturally timid, and unacquainted with the uſe of arms, to face, and to bear patiently, the fire of muſketry and cannon. We would then aſk the reader, whether ſuch powerful influence was not ſufficient to enable them to check the deſtructive progreſs of the Defenders†, who were terrific ſo early as the year 1789, and who became afterwards ſubſervient to the United Iriſhmen in 1792; and whether they could not finally have prevented the exploſion of the rebellion in 1798? As they can learn all the ſecrets of their flock in the confeſſion box, it was impoſſible that they could have been unacquainted with all the particulars of a conſpiracy, formed with deliberation, for the deſtruction of the empire, and which the conſpirators had been many years concerting.

Auricular confeſſion, firſt decreed by the fourth Lateran Council, A.D. 1215, was deviſed for the ſole purpoſe of extending the dominion of the Popes, and is one of the moſt dangerous tenets of his church. According to the opinion of the moſt eminent Romiſh divines, the ſecrets diſcloſed in confeſſion cannot be divulged by the confeſſor on any account. Cardinal Bellarmine, highly reſpected in that Church, ſays, that they cannot be diſcloſed to avoid the greateſt evil‡; but he adds, "if treaſon be known to a

* This is but a very ſmall portion of the province of Munſter, over all of which the White Boys ſpread terror and deſolation.

† They were exactly ſimilar to the Defenders, for they were excluſively Papiſts; they were bound together by oaths; they deprived the Proteſtants of their arms, againſt whom their vengeance was directed.

‡ Apolo. octv. reg. Mag. Britt.

prieſt in confeſſion, he may give notice of it to a pious and Catholic prince, but not to a heretic." So that, if our gracious Sovereign had been a Papiſt, the Iriſh prieſts might have informed him that a treaſonable conſpiracy had been formed for the deſtruction of his empire, with the aid of the French government; a negotiation for whoſe aid was begun, even while Robeſpierre was at its head, but, being an alien to his Holineſs, they could not do ſo*.

We ſhall concur with the author of theſe Strictures, in omitting the acrimonious ſarcaſms of Mr. Plowden on the adminiſtrations of Lord Townſend and Lord Harcourt, and his long and diſguſting account of ſpeeches made in Parliament, extracted from newſpapers; and ſhall, for the preſent, conclude our review of this excellent work. On reſuming it, we ſhall lay before our readers his obſervations on the origin and the effects of the conciliating ſyſtem, which began in the adminiſtration of Lord North, and during the viceroyſhip of Lord Buckinghamſhire.

[*To be continued.*]

All the Talents; a Satirical Poem. By Polypus. *Dialogue the Fourth.* Embelliſhed with a Frontiſpiece. 8vo, pp. 42. 1s 6d. Stockdale, Pall Mall. 1807.

SINCE Polypus firſt took up the pen to chaſtiſe the preſumption, to correct the arrogance, and to humble the pride, of thoſe men who arrogated to themſelves the monopoly of all the Talents, a material change has taken place in the ſituation and feelings of the objects of his ſatire. They were *then* in place, and their power of doing miſchief was great; they are *now* out of place, and that power, though it be not deſtroyed, is comparatively ſmall. But let us hear the ſatiriſt's own account of this change, and of the correſponding change in his own feelings.

"Beſides the diſadvantages I labour under in being obliged to ſpeak of the ſame perſonages again, a more ſerious difficulty occurs in the different points of view in which theſe perſonages are now placed. In the three former Dialogues they were exhibited as miſchievous and powerful animals; now they ceaſe to be miſchievous, becauſe they are no longer powerful. Then, they were objects of terror—now they are only objects of compaſſion. Indignation then lent her aid to render the ſatire palatable; now blue-eyed Pity mingles milk with the bitter draught. The ſhout of triumph is never heard with ſuch ſatisfaction as the cry of diſcontent; and

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* Thus, when King John endeavoured to defend his crown and dignity againſt the inordinate ambition of the Pope, he, and the Engliſh prieſts his vaſſals, incited his ſubjects to rebel againſt him; but after he had ſubmitted, and was no longer a *heretic*, he joined him againſt his ſubjects, in condemning and annulling Magna Charta.

moſt probably my Muſe muſt put her patriotiſm to the proof, by ſuffering for the good of her country.

" I do not aſk it in the ſpirit of party; I make an appeal to the good ſenſe and ſincerity of my countrymen, whether a more inefficient or* ruinous Adminiſtration than the late one ever exiſted in this country. Other Miniſtries have been accuſed of neglect or inability, *ſingly*—of hurtful or unconſtitutional meaſures, *ſingly*—have been laughed at, or deſpiſed, or execrated, *ſingly*—but the phænomenon of a boaſtful faction, uniting in itſelf both ſloth and impotence, injury and injuſtice; and undergoing every gradation of national anger, from the loweſt contempt to the higheſt indignation, remained for the late Adminiſtration alone: and yet there is ſo much of the ludicrous in the final cataſtrophe, that I defy the verieſt cynic of us all to ſpeak or think of it without feeling his riſible faculties affected. It was a ſerious affair indeed while the battle laſted, but, ſince it is now happily over, we may ſit down ſatisfied with the reſult, and laugh heartily at thoſe poor fellows, who, though not ſpecially endowed with ability to *perform* wonders, are, at leaſt, pre-eminently gifted with the powers of *promiſing* them. The geeſe that ſaved Rome by their cackling were themſelves, I doubt not, the ſubject of many a merry jeſt, when they afterwards came to be eaten."

Eat the ſaviours of Imperial Rome! Surely ſuch an *unpoetical* notion never before entered the head of a bard. We ſhould be ſorry to encourage the propagation of this idea, leſt ſome ungracious rhymer ſhould propoſe to have the Britiſh lion roaſted; though we will honeſtly confeſs that we ſhould have no objection to ſee the Gallic cock fricaſſeed, becauſe the faithleſs bird ſlept upon his poſt, proved a traitor to his truſt, and ſuffered the vultures and the cormorants to devour his charge.—We return to our ſatiriſt.

" There is ſomething ſingular in every circumſtance relative to that Adminiſtration. Even the period of its duration was remarkable. The Sun beſtowed on it his year, the Moon her month, and the Earth her day; and exactly at the concluſion of theſe planetary revolutions came the political one. The death of a ſingle perſon uſhered it into being, and the ſpeech of a trivial individual, in a diſtant nation of the empire, brought it to its grave. It commenced its earlieſt career with the exploſion of a cracker; and it died of a forfeit cauſed by keeping its word."

With theſe preliminary remarks Polypus uſhers in his fourth ſatirical dialogue with his friend Scriblerus, who endeavouring, as uſual, to check his fiery Pegaſus, thus calls for his lamentations on the death of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer.

" * I adviſe my readers to peruſe that incomparable production, A Vindication of the Court of Ruſſia. It is one of the beſt pamphlets I have ever read, and, I think, ſatisfactorily proves an accuſation, which, if true, blaſts the political purity of certain characters for ever."

" Yet Envy's ſelf muſt mourn how P-tty* fell,
Juſt warm with life, and iſſuing from his ſhell;
Two-legg'd, unfeather'd, quite a chick of chance,
That knock'd his little head againſt finance;
Peck'd chaff for corn, hopp'd onward, lame and blind,
And, dying, left no golden egg behind.
What tho' ſmall brains within his head be hung?
Yet the juſt gods have giv'n the boy a tongue.
What though his Lordſhip in th' Exchequer fail?
Yet if he cannot reaſon, he can rail."

" POLYPUS.

" Yet had the youth from ſyren pow'r reſrain'd,
Content to hug the applauſe a ſpeech obtain'd,
Fondly his little merits we had ey'd,
And counted much conceal'd, becauſe untry'd;
But now his pow'rs are truly underſtood,
†Uſe ſtrips at once the gilding from the wood."

The bard is too ſevere on Lord Henry, who, bating the act of taking the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer immediately after Mr. Pitt, which has not been paralleled ſince the days of *Phæton,* has certainly more modeſty and leſs preſumption than any of the leaders of the coaleſced party. And it has really been a matter of aſtoniſhment with us, ſince we have known that Mr. Dugald Stuart was his Lordſhip's preceptor, that his ſpeeches have been ſo plain and intelligible, and that he has not loſt himſelf in a labyrinth of metaphyſical abſtraction; while it has ſupplied us with the means of accounting for that religious indifference which

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" * *P-tty.*] The Univerſity of Cambridge has confirmed the public opinion of Lord P-tty, by rejecting him as a repreſentative. This is the greateſt diſgrace he could poſſibly undergo, becauſe it is the moſt unequivocal criterion of the ſmall eſtimation in which he is univerſally held. Yet, though I have no hope of an increaſe in his underſtanding, I do not altogether deſpair of a reform in his principles. He is young, and has got into bad company—but time works ſtrange things, and time may endow his Lordſhip with ſome worldly prudence, though it cannot alter the texture of his brain."

" † His Lordſhip remained in power preciſely long enough to make it appear that he could not have remained a moment longer. Indeed the ſhort Adminiſtration † of all the Talents reminds me, in many reſpects, of the ſhort peace we once made with Bonaparte. Each was equally inglorious, and each injured us materially; yet ſerved us alſo, by confirming us in a bad opinion of both. It is thus with the momentary glimpſe of lightning; the ſhort glare which ſhews us our danger is the danger itſelf—However, the noiſy thunder which follows is always harmleſs."

" † They remained in power exactly *one* year, *one* month, and *one* day. They might, therefore, be aptly termed the *unit* adminiſtration; though *now*, indeed, the *units* are metamorpholed into *cyphers.*"

deems teſts tyrannical and eſtabliſhments unneceſſary. We heartily wiſh that his Lordſhip may follow the example of his brother, and ſhake off aſſociates who will neither mend his morals, nor improve his intellects.

Of Mr. Tierney's talents the ſatiriſt ſeems to have formed a very correct eſtimate.

" This gentleman is one among the many who poſſeſs the negative talent of telling others what they ſhould *not* do, without having the capacity to teach them what they *ought* to do. Mr. T--rn-y can pull down *palaces*, though he cannot build a *pig-ſty*.

' J'ai eu, et aurai pour lui, une averſion effroyable.' "

If, however, Mr. Tierney had exerciſed this negative talent, during the late Adminiſtration, and had exerciſed it with effect, he might have produced a great deal of poſitive good. For though their ſins of *omiſſion* were moſt numerous, yet their ſins of *commiſſion* were by no means few or trivial.—As for Mr. Sheridan, poets and proſe writers may exhauſt their wit and their ſenſe, in deſcribing his exploits, without exhauſting the fund on which they draw for materials.

" SCRIBLERUS.

" But, ah! what ſhift ſhall *Sh-r---n eſſay,
Who cannot borrow, and who will not pay?

" POLYPUS.

" The head that twice three bottles can endure,
Finds ways and means theſe bottles to procure;
Would you know how? His honour is not nice;
Laughing he'll tell you, and he'll tell you twice.

" * This ' blazing meteor,' who has the moſt cauſe to be vexed at the late change, has kept, or ſeemed to keep, his temper the beſt. He bears his misfortune, if not with the real meekneſs of a Chriſtian, at leaſt, with the apparent good-humour of a rake. He knows enough of the world to be conſcious that the triumph is doubled when the loſer appears mortified, ſo he very wiſely laughs and jokes over his αἰθοπα οινον, and makes the beſt of a bad bargain.

" Yet I cannot conceive what end a man of Mr. S---d-n's age and ſituation can propoſe, by adhering to a party whom he certainly deſpiſes in his heart. Perſonal attachment might have tied him to it during Mr. Fox's life, but the motive ſhould have expired with the object which cauſed it. Mr. S. talks much of his conſiſtency. If ſteadineſs to an inconſiſtent party be conſiſtency, why then I muſt allow Mr. Sh-r---n an ample portion of this virtue. But the truth is, Mr. Sh--d-n is perſonally, not politically, conſiſtent. He miſtakes friendſhip for patriotiſm; and becauſe he has not deſerted his bottle companions, flatters himſelf he has not deſerted his country. It happens, then, by an odd ſort of diſtracted logic, that the proof of his conſiſtency depends upon proving his want of it."

No man is half ſo ſly the dun to ſlip;
No man boaſts how with half ſo ſly a lip."

The poet's friend Scriblerus, in his capacity of monitor, *ſometimes* gives good advice, and in no inſtance is his advice better than in the two firſt of the following lines, where it is directed to a pair of modern patriots.

" Now let the dramatiſt return to Drury,
And *Wh-tbr--d drop the Commons for the brew'ry.
Yet Wh-tbr--d's double talent who can fear?
He brews ſmall miſchief, and he brews ſmall beer;
Harmleſs alike in unpolluted grains,
And in the heavy baggage of his brains.
Non omnes omnia poſſumus, I fear;
The man is muddy, but his drink is clear.

" POLYPUS.

" Safe let him paſs the ordeal of my pen,
'Twere more than mean to turn on him again.
Dull heads are harmleſs, and unharm'd ſhould go;
If a ſtone ſtrikes one, who returns the blow?"

The bard may ſafely conſign this *frothy* gentleman, who is at once *light* and *heavy*, as an orator and a politician, to her Grace the Ducheſs of Gordon, who gave the brewer a moſt delectable dreſſing, in Weſtminſter Hall, during the trial of Lord Melville. Mr. Whitbread, we ſuſpect, will not forget the *cream of the Houſe of Commons*, and the *puniſhment* of Lord Melville, " while memory holds her ſeat in *his* diſtracted brain." But we turn from the low retainers of the party to the lofty head of it.

" Back to cabal let turbid H-w--k turn,
And ſplaſh up ſourneſs from his gutt'ral churn;
With grimly wit the bating Houſe infeſt,
Death in his ſmile, and terror in his jeſt:
Who leaves one ſcheme another to begin,
And drops a plot as ſerpents caſt a ſkin.
Yet who now leads him? Ev'n his former friends
Renounce his tenets as they ſee his ends.
Now ſcorn'd of all, no more to foes a dread,
Say in what hollow ſhall he hide his head?

" * I once heard a very deformed perſon conſole himſelf with the reflection, that, at leaſt, he bade defiance to the knife of the anatomiſt: I think Mr. W. may comfort himſelf in a ſimilar manner. There is an inexplicability about the man that puzzles me extremely. I have already taken in pieces all the *carvable* parts of his character, and *for the preſent* abandon him in deſpair."

O titled fall! O badly-barter'd name!
O laſt ſad relic of a fruſtrate aim!
Bedeckt with flow'rs and rich with broider'd gold,
The rich man's ſplendid coverlet behold;
But, lo! tho' round him richeſt tiſſue glares,
The feſter'd body toſſes and deſpairs."

We ſubjoin the note to this paſſage, becauſe it contains a moſt curious anecdote.

"What ſhall I ſay of this able, this temperate, this virtuous nobleman? To praiſe him were an inſult, to abuſe him 'ſtale,' to adviſe him 'unprofitable;' and then he happens to be ſo 'melancholy and gentleman-like,' that it is out of the nature of things to make a jeſt of him. The diſgraceful conteſt he ſo long ſupported with his noble maſter, has undone him for ever.

"Un prince, dont les yeux ſe font jour dans les cœurs,
Et qui ne peut tromper tout l'art des impoſteurs.
D'un fin diſcernment ſa grande ame pourvue,
Sur les choſes toujours jette une droite vue."

MOL. TART.

"As to his ally, Lord Gr-nv-lle, I find it a painful, but indiſpenſable, duty, to declare my preſent ſentiments of a man, whom, three months ago, I conſidered as the pride and prop of his country. Three months ago, my long partiality towards his Lordſhip ſtill led me to hope, that his myſterious junction with Mr. Fox was owing to ſome unfortunate, not culpable, miſunderſtanding with his relative, and that, though he had changed his party, he had not altered his principles. I therefore refrained from remarking on the matter, and merely hinted my hope that he would not be found to fail in his zeal and fidelity. But how miſerable has this hope been diſappointed! He has now involved himſelf for ever in the deſperate predicament of a faction, which his long political life had heretofore been uniformly employed in reprobating and expoſing. It was not the ſlow prejudice of early education, nor the ſudden impulſe of caſual paſſion; it was the cold calculation of ſelfiſh policy, which drew him to deſert his natural connections and the rigid conſiſtency of his character, that he might domineer over men whom he deteſted, and excel, as an enemy, him whom he could not equal, as a friend. He has now mixed his name and united his fortune with the deteſtable H-w-ck; he has recommended men to the royal favour whom he had once counſelled his Sovereign to degrade; he has inſulted the Sovereign himſelf; he has deſcended to the deſpicable expedient of entrapping his ſacred ſignature, and he has adopted the low cant of thoſe political ſportſmen who make deſtruction an amuſement, and hunt down liberty with the cry of independence. I really retain ſo much of my former regard for this unhappy nobleman, that I cannot *yet* ſpeak of him with all that aſperity, which I hope he has ſtill reaſon enough remaining to be convinced he deſerves. Perhaps, too, he may hereafter act in ſuch a manner as ſhall make me lament I had ſaid even thus little. Alas! what is there on earth that can compenſate for the forfeiture of that true integrity which, while it exiſts independent of fortune or of ſtation, renders all other dignity eventually ſubſervient to its own.

" Perhaps it is not generally known that my Lord Gr-nv-lle (an ancient noble) once actually quarrelled with my Lord Howick, (*not* an ancient noble) becauſe my Lord H-w-ck would not conſent to make the plebeian Mr. Wh-tb--d—what? why *Chancellor of the Exchequer!* I mention this incident merely to ſhew the difference between Lord Gr-n--lle of paſt days and the preſent nobleman of that name.

" But a ſtill more melancholy inſtance of political infatuation occurs in the good Biſhop of L-nc-ln. This venerable divine, the tutor of Mr. Pitt, and the friend and ſupporter of"—(aye, and befriended and ſupported by) " his pupil through life, is, at this moment, (alas! let us pardon the weakneſs of age) the friend and ſupporter of Lord Gr-nv-lle! I ſhould be ſorry to claſs together the Biſhop and the Parſon—or the mind, bed-ridden by time, and the heart lame by nature; but really I cannot help drawing odd compariſons between an obſtinate T—ke, who unites with neither party, and a flexible Pr-ttym-n, who unites with both."

What food for reflection and for comment does this one note afford! It is full, as an egg, of materials for ſatire. We know that the Brewer's modeſty had led him ſo far as to demand admiſſion into the Privy Council; but that his ſottiſh ambition had induced him to aſpire to the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, even after Mr. Addington had filled it, never once entered into our heads. We had amuſed ourſelves with the idea of inſcribing, over the door of an alehouſe, *The Right Honourable the Secretary of War's Brown Stout*, but our imagination had conceived nothing ſo perfectly prepoſterous, ſo irreſiſtibly ludicrous, as an event which would enable us to write, over "The two Jolly Brewers," *The Right Honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer's entire Butt!!!* It really exceeds, in abſurdity, every thing which a German novelliſt could conceive, or a Grimaldi execute! It affords, however, a pretty proof of the ſyſtem of *nepotiſm* which the Whig Patriot, Lord Howick, attempted to eſtabliſh. After providing, moſt handſomely, for all his brothers (for which, by the bye, we ſhould be the laſt perſon in the world to blame him), and giving to one brother-in-law the high and lucrative ſituation of Lord Chancellor of Ireland, he laboured to procure for the other the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer in England; an office, too, for which he was about as well qualified, as the celebrated Sir Jeffery Dunſtan, of *wig*-notoriety. His ſullen Lordſhip has ſurely the moſt graſping ambition of any of the aſpiring would-be ſtateſmen of the preſent day! Now we are on this ſubject, we will accept a challenge which the ſaid Lord Howick is ſtated, in the newſpapers, to have recently thrown out, reſpecting the conduct of the late Chancellor of Ireland. Whether or no he has diſpatched the cauſes in his court with unuſual expedition, and ſuch unuſual judgment, we are not qualified to ſay; but we wiſh to aſk his boaſtful brother-in-law, whether, in his ſelection of materials for the compoſition of his flaming panegyric, he adverted to Lord Ponſonby's conduct towards the magiſtracy of

Ireland? Will Lord Howick dare to deny that the Chancellor removed ſeveral Proteſtant magiſtrates who had diſplayed the greateſt zeal and loyalty in repreſſing the rebellion in Ireland, and replaced them with Papiſts, who had obſerved a very different line of conduct? Will he dare either to deny or to juſtify this fact? Let him, on ſuch a ſubject, ſpeak not merely the truth, but the whole truth.

As to Lord Grenville, we know not what to ſay of him. *We*, too, once conſidered him as the pride and the prop of his country. We were willing to aſcribe his junction with Mr. Fox to an impulſe of real, though miſtaken, patriotiſm. We waited till the death of the Whig patriot, before we retracted our opinion. We then thought that his Lordſhip would eagerly ſeize the occaſion to throw off the ſhackles to which he had reluctantly ſubmitted, and, availing himſelf of the power which he enjoyed, diſcard the weak remnants of the Whig faction, and call around him the old, approved, and ſteady friends of his firſt patron. But, alas! we were miſerably diſappointed. His ſubſequent conduct deſtroyed every hope, and ſtrengthened every fear. His late behaviour to his Sovereign, and his choice of Lord Henry Petty, and of Mr. Robert Adair, to repreſent one of his own boroughs—a borough, too, deſcended to him from a PITT!—removed all doubt from the minds of his former friends; and led them to conclude that he had completely renounced or abandoned all his former principles and connections. There is one circumſtance, indeed, which has ſince occurred, that has revived the hopes of a few, though, we fear, without ſufficient cauſe: we allude to the contraſt exhibited between the conduct of Lord Grenville and that of Lord Howick, on the motion for placing the bills which were before the late Parliament in preciſely the ſame ſituation in which they were previous to the diſſolution. Lord H. ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the motion; thereby verifying our aſſertion, that his Lordſhip "cared not the leaſt about the loſſes of individuals or the inconvenience of the public," produced by the ſuſpenſion of ſuch bills in their progreſs through Parliament; while Lord Grenville gave it a firm and manly ſupport. O! ſi ſic omnia!

If we know not what to ſay of Lord Grenville, how ſhould we know what to ſay of the Biſhop of Lincoln? Sorry, moſt ſorry, we are to ſay, that our Biſhops, now-a-days, afford but too much ground for lamentation! If *they* deſert the good cauſe in the hour of trial, who ſhall defend it? We venerate their ſacred characters, and, in the diſcharge of their ſpiritual duties, we will ever ſupport them againſt the rude aſſailants of our faith. We ſhall be the firſt to honour our ſpiritual paſtors and maſters; but we ſhall not confound the prelate with the politician, nor let the reſpect due to the one, ſcreen the other from the animadverſions which his conduct invites. Indeed, we acknowledge no Papal infallibility in the heads of our Church; we know them to be men,

and, as such, liable to error; and when in error, it is a duty incumbent on Christians to endeavour to set them right. We respect their authority, indeed, and will bow to their decisions, unless they should be, what we are persuaded they never will be, unsupported by scripture. But, in matters unconnected with their stations, they are entitled to no more deference than other men equally gifted, and equally endowed. Having premised thus much, in order to obviate misapprehension and mistakes, we proceed to express our astonishment at the late conduct of the prelate in question, who, although he radically differed from Lord Grenville, on the Catholic Bill, did not scruple to support his Lordship (with five other prelates!!) on the Marquis of Stafford's motion for justifying his Lordship at the expence of his Sovereign; for such was the purport and object of the motion. It has been said, indeed, in justification of such support, that an archbishoprick, in *reversion*, had been promised to the Bishop, and a peerage for his son! We *hope* there is no truth in the assertion, for most sorry should we be to think that any worldly motives could influence the mind of a *prelate* on a question of *duty*. But, alas! we know a prelate who, on the same occasion, suffered other motives than a sense of duty to influence his vote; one who, agreeing with Lord Grenville on all his measures, voted *against* him, because his family voted that way. We have heard that the Bishop of Lincoln supported the opposition candidate for the county of Huntingdon; and we have seen his name coupled with that of Dr. Parr, in some hand-bills that were circulated during the election. These are strange times to which the admonition *Nil admirari* is more strictly applicable than to any other. A propos to Dr. Parr: this reverend gentleman has lately been introduced by his young patron to the sage of Wimbledon, with whom he is in raptures, and of whom he has expressed himself in such terms of eulogy as set all former panegyrics, of ancient or of modern times, at defiance.

One other extract, containing one other anecdote of Lord Grenville, shall close our account of this Dialogue.

> " Yet all the Talents tho' henceforth you spare,
> From Marquis* D-gl-s down to Bob Adair†,
> Tho' honest Gr-nv-lle from thy fang escape,
> Who, willing to make something by the scrape,

" * This humorous nobleman used to ride about Petersburg in a dress compounded of every costume in the known world. The natives made our noble ambassador a standing jest, and actually took him for a madman, which was but a bad guess, inasmuch as madmen really *do* possess a certain shrewdness on *some* subjects."

" † The Right pleasant expounder of Mr. Fox's Letter to the Electors of Westminster. But Bob has lately obtained so much notoriety by the embassy to Vienna, that I believe I shall leave Bob in the quiet enjoyment of it. 'Bob, Bob—there is melody, Sir, in the very name.'

Sought in his fall nor riches, toys, nor tags,
But merely wrote an order for *old rags*."

To this laſt line the following *explanatory* note is ſubjoined:

"That is, he wrote an order for money to purchaſe paper, though, of *courſe*, he did not mean to ſpend the money in any other manner. The anecdote is worth recording. The Firſt Lord of the Treaſury is not allowed ſtationary in kind, like the army paymaſter, but has an annual allowance in money. Lord Gr-nv-lle, therefore, when on the eve of diſmiſſal from office, ſent an order for the *entire ſtipend of the ſecond year*, of which one day more than a *month* had expired. His draft, however, was *not* accepted; and, I believe, it now lies at the office, in ſpite of his Lordſhip's anxious endeavours to reclaim the written teſtimony of his ſhrewdneſs."

What! the high-minded Grenville ſtoop ſo low! It is ſcarcely credible. But that *two* inſtances of this *lucri furor* ſhould occur in *one* family is a fact, without an equal, in the *Annals of Stowe!* Towards the concluſion of this poem are ſome well-turned compliments to Lords Eldon and Hawkeſbury, which ſhew that the bard can praiſe as he cenſures. The laſt lines are highly poetical and animated.

Strictures on the Motions made in the laſt Parliament reſpecting the Pledge which his Majeſty was under the Neceſſity of demanding from his late Miniſters; and which, in thoſe Motions, was moſt unconſtitutionally made a Subject of Accuſation. In a Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Viſcount Howick. By John Bowles, Eſq. 8vo, pp. 58. 2s. J. J. Stockdale, Pall Mall. 1807.

MR. Bowles begins his Strictures with a brief narrative of the circumſtances which led to his Majeſty's demand of a pledge from his Miniſters; in order to prove, which he does moſt fully, that the conduct of theſe Miniſters was ſuch as to make the pledge in queſtion indiſpenſably neceſſary on the part of the King. He then conſiders the motions of Lord Stafford and Mr. Brand in either Houſe of Parliament, and ſhews that the motions themſelves, taken, as they muſt be, in connection with the circumſtances which gave riſe to them, as well as the doctrine advanced in the courſe of debate by ſome of the ſupporters of them, were highly unconſtitutional. In the progreſs of his inquiry he inveſtigates

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Really it ſuits the man to a miracle. It is even more expreſſive than Virgil's admired monoſyllable,

Procumbit humi *Bos!*
Procumbit humi Bos!"

the queſtion of *reſponſibility*, which has been ſo much diſcuſſed, and ſo much miſrepreſented.

" In order to ward off the odium which is inſeparable from an attempt to criminate the Sovereign, it is pretended that the cenſure, ſo clearly involved in the above motions, was imputed, not to the King, but to his adviſers. Before, however, a perſonal act of the King was cenſured, his reſponſible adviſers ought to have been deſignated, and the charge of adviſing clearly proved upon them; for his Majeſty ſhould not for a moment be expoſed to imputation of blame. Such preliminary proof was the more neceſſary, becauſe every appearance, every preſumption, was againſt the ſuppoſition, that, in this inſtance, the King had acted by advice. He was not only the ſole oſtenſible agent, but he acted ſolely, as his people firmly believe, from the dictates of his own judgment and the impulſe of his own heart. His conſtitutional adviſers, at the time, were the Miniſters in office; and they alone were reſponſible for the acts of the executive government. But, on this occaſion, his Majeſty was at iſſue with thoſe Miniſters, and the queſtion was altogether a perſonal one between the Crown and its ſervants. In ſpite, however, of preſumptions, appearances, and facts, which concur ſo ſtrongly to repel the ſuppoſition that his Majeſty, in the tranſaction alluded to, had any adviſers; it has been propoſed in Parliament, in the firſt place, to cenſure, as unconſtitutional, a royal act; and then, in order to juſtify ſuch a propoſal, attempts have been made to conjure up phantoms of ſecret adviſers, whoſe dark counſels, it was inſinuated, were the hidden ſpring which produced the alleged breach of the Conſtitution. Such an inſinuation is nothing leſs than a freſh accuſation againſt his Majeſty—an accuſation, nevertheleſs, which is ſo completely refuted by the known frankneſs of his character, and the whole tenor of his reign, that it requires no other notice, than an expreſſion of that indignation which it muſt excite in every loyal breaſt.

" An attempt of a different nature to diſcover reſponſible adviſers, who might ſcreen the accuſers of their King from the juſt reſentment of their country, is deſerving rather of contempt than indignation. It is pretended that the preſent Miniſters, by liſtening to the call of their Sovereign when he ſtood in need of their ſervices, had made themſelves reſponſible for a meaſure which occurred while their predeceſſors were in office; that is to ſay, by accepting official ſituations, they became accountable for acts which preceded the period of their own adminiſtration; acts which they had no opportunity of adviſing, which they had no means of preventing, and which paſſed altogether without their privity. How far this doctrine of tranſmiſſible reſponſibility is meant to be carried, and what are to be its aſſigned limits, it may be difficult to aſcertain; but its promulgation proves that there are no limits to the abſurdity of men, who make their reaſoning powers ſubſervient to the views of party.

" In aid of ſuch miſerable ſubterfuges recourſe is had to a fallacy, ſubverſive of that prerogative of the Crown which is the main ſpring of the executive government. It is contended that the King can do no act without reſponſible adviſers; and it being found impoſſible, in the preſent inſtance, to diſcover ſuch adviſers, this doctrine is brought forward, like a fiction in law, to furniſh imaginary beings, certain non-entities—like John Doe and Richard Roe, or a common vouchee—to ſupply their place. But

if the above doctrine were true, it would reduce to a nullity the King's undoubted right to chooſe his own Miniſters, and to diſmiſs them at pleaſure. The exerciſe of that right is neceſſarily the perſonal act of the King; and if he were not free to exerciſe it without advice, and without any direct reſtraint, he would be a mere cypher—a pageant of royalty; and the monarchy itſelf would not only be ſhorn of its ſplendor, but deprived of all vigour and efficiency. There are, indeed, checks of an indirect nature, and ariſing out of the practice of the Conſtitution, which impoſe a conſiderable, and oftentimes, by their abuſe, a moſt miſchievous reſtraint upon this prerogative. For as Government cannot be carried on without Miniſters, ſo Miniſters cannot conduct the affairs of Government without the confidence and ſupport of Parliament; and hence a powerful reſtraint, though of an indirect nature, is impoſed upon the unqueſtionable right of the Crown to chooſe its own ſervants: a reſtraint, my Lord, of which faction is ever ready, as you well know, to take advantage, in order to cramp and fetter the prerogative, by haraſſing the operations of Government, even though conducted by conſummate ability and unimpeachable integrity. But, independently of reſtraints of this nature, the prerogative in queſtion, in order to be efficient, nay, in order to be any thing but a mere empty form, muſt be uncontrolled. In its free exerciſe conſiſts the conſtitutional independence of a Britiſh Monarch: it requires neither adviſers nor agents. It therefore does not, and cannot, with juſtice, involve any reſponſibility; if it did, the King muſt be *perſonally* reſponſible: a ſuppoſition from which the Conſtitution is moſt abhorrent."

Mr. Bowles proceeds to explain, fully and perſpicuouſly, the nature and extent of miniſterial reſponſibility, or thoſe checks which the Conſtitution has provided for the prevention of any ill effects from the admitted maxim, that *the King can do no wrong*. He then examines the motions in Parliament reſpecting the pledge, and complains, very juſtly, of their being brought before the Houſes in the form of abſtract propoſitions, by which it was attempted to deprive the Sovereign of the advantage enjoyed by the meaneſt of his ſubjects,—" that of having the whole of his caſe brought forward at once, and with immediate reference to the inquiry, inſtead of truſting, with regard to a material part of it, to the impreſſions which previous explanations might have produced on the minds of his judges." He diſclaims all intention of undertaking the preſumptuous taſk of explaining the conduct of his Sovereign.

" Deeply do I deplore the familiarity with which the ſacred name of Majeſty has been introduced into recent diſcuſſions and explanations; and greatly ſhould I rejoice if, by the appeal which I am now making to the genuine principles of the Conſtitution, and to the real facts of the caſe, I ſhould contribute, in any degree, to prevent ſo dangerous an example from being drawn into a precedent. I feel the more anxiety on this ſubject, becauſe I cannot forget that the principles of the party, with which your Lordſhip has ſo long acted, are eſſentially repugnant to the inviolability of the ſacred perſon of Majeſty. I could mention diſtinguiſhed mem-

bers of that party, who, in thoſe inflammatory ſpeeches which their extravagant admiration of the French revolution drew from them, both in and out of Parliament, have laboured frequently to convert our Revolution, in 1688, into an authority for the treaſonable doctrine, that *the people of this country have a right to caſhier their Sovereign for miſconduct:* in fact, according to the avowed principles of the party to which I allude, no Majeſty is ſacred, but the Majeſty of the people—no Sovereign impeccable but that popular multitude, whoſe ſovereignty was the long ſtanding toaſt of theſe modern Whigs."

We have ſo lately, in our review of Lord Sidmouth's Speech, and in various other articles, entered upon the hiſtory of thoſe miniſterial meaſures which preceded and extorted the demand of a pledge by the King, that we ſhall paſs over that portion of the pamphlet which relates to this ſubject, and confine our notice to other parts, in which points of great conſtitutional importance are moſt fully, and moſt ably, diſcuſſed. We muſt firſt, however, obſerve, that Mr. Bowles here renews the challenge which he gave, in his Letter to Mr. Whitbread, to the advocates for further conceſſions to the Romaniſts, to meet him on the grounds which he there advanced in ſupport of his poſition, that ſuch claims were fraught with certain and imminent danger to the Eſtabliſhed Church. It is rather extraordinary, conſidering how loud in declamation, and how ſkilful in ſophiſtry, thoſe advocates are, that none of them have felt bold enough to take up the gauntlet thus thrown down. Do they expect, then, in ſuch a country as this, to carry meaſures of vital importance by clamour, without deigning to defend them by argument? Or does the conſciouſneſs of their inability to ſupport them by reaſoning ſo preſs upon their minds, as to impoſe ſilence on their tongues, and reſtraint on their pens? If ſo, let them retire ingloriouſly from the conteſt, and no longer inſult their country, by ſubſtituting confidence in aſſertion for ſtrength of proof. Adverting to the conduct of the party who affect to deſpiſe what they pretend to call, the *ſenſeleſs cry of the Church in danger*, Mr. B. aſks, "can any thing be really more *ſenſeleſs* than this affectation of deſpiſing the apprehenſions which are entertained by the friends of the Church, leſt the removal of its ancient bulwarks ſhould prove a dangerous experiment?" He then explains the origin and object of the Teſt Laws

"That the Teſt Laws were intended as ſafeguards of our Eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment, is a truth which I preſume no one will attempt to diſpute. There is, indeed, a legiſlative declaration upon this ſubject, ſtating expreſsly that 'the Corporation and Teſt Acts were made for the ſecurity of the Church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed*.' It is true the times in which thoſe Acts were paſſed have been recently denominated the *dark ages;* but whatever authority there may be for applying to them ſuch an

"* 10 Ann, c. 2."

appellation, I muſt be allowed to doubt whether the *preſent*, with all the advantages they have derived from the illuminating doctrines of modern philoſophiſm, are really more *enlightened*. Nay, my Lord, I will venture to ſay, that if we judge of the comparative radiance of theſe different periods by a reference to the conduct of our anceſtors, and to the principles upon which we ourſelves act, with regard to the ſubject immediately under conſideration, it will appear that we have ſuffered a moſt deplorable diminution of the light of true wiſdom. In framing the Teſt Laws, to ſerve as the bulwarks of the national Church, and in the meaſures by which they endeavoured to make thoſe laws permanent, the former diſplayed a profound knowledge of human nature, and an admirable capacity of adapting the means to the end; but the encroachments which in our times have been made upon theſe bulwarks, eſpecially where they are moſt weak, as in Ireland—and the attempts which we are daily witneſſing, even on the part of perſons, who, like your Lordſhip, profeſs an ardent zeal for the preſervation of the Church, to remove them altogether, prove that the light of which we boaſt is little better than *darkneſs viſible*.

" Our Teſt Laws, as your Lordſhip well knows, are founded on the principle, that the power of the State cannot, conſiſtently with the ſafety of its Eſtabliſhed Church, be entruſted to perſons who are not members of that eſtabliſhment: in other words, that conformity with the national Church is, with a view to the above important, and, as your Lordſhip will not deny, indiſpenſable object, a neceſſary qualification for offices of power and truſt. This principle, notwithſtanding the numberleſs violations which it has recently experienced, and the attempts which are made to get rid of it entirely, is, I will boldly aſſert, the only one upon which any effectual protection can be afforded to an Eſtabliſhed Church, and I defy the ingenuity of man to diſcover any other which can anſwer that purpoſe. For it is a truth which the light of reaſon moſt clearly points out, and of which it would denote the groſſeſt ignorance both of hiſtory and of human nature to doubt, that power, if entruſted to perſons who are not in conformity with the Church, will be employed by them, according to their numbers, their means, and their opportunities, againſt the eſtabliſhment. The above principle is the true, and indeed the only, valid bond of alliance between Church and State: which two parts of our mixed Conſtitution it holds together by making the government in all its departments eſſentially Proteſtant and conformiſt; and by requiring that not merely the Sovereign, but all who derive any power and authority under him, ſhall be of the religion eſtabliſhed by law.

" The principle in queſtion, my Lord, has moreover the ſanction of experience in its favour: it has been uniformly acted upon in this country under all the religious eſtabliſhments which, at different times, have here had the aſcendancy. Even thoſe ſects which are moſt clamorous for its ſacrifice, whether Romiſh or Proteſtant, adhered to it, invariably, when they were reſpectively in power; and *that* with a degree of rigour which affords a ſtriking contraſt to the mild ſpirit of the exiſting Church. It is ſurely with a very bad grace that ſuch ſects aſk for a ſacrifice in *their* favour, which they were never diſpoſed to make in favour of *others*. They were, however, right upon principle in not making ſuch a ſacrifice. What, then, ſhall be ſaid of the guardians of our Church, if guardians they can

be called, who are desirous of depriving it of fences which have at all times been deemed essential to the security of an ecclesiastical establishment?"

It was the Hibernian sage and *patriot,* Mr. Grattan, we believe, who stigmatised the reigns of William and of Anne as the *ages of darkness;* while the stupid calumny was repeated by the Whig admirers of the former monarch. We have often reminded these spurious Whigs, who seem to know nothing of *Whiggism* but the name, of the dissonance of their principles and opinions with those of their favourite Sovereign. Mr. Bowles recalls them to their recollection, and, as we wish to impress them strongly on their minds, we shall transcribe the passage.

"If a principle, which is so strongly recommended by reason and experience, could want the support of any other authority, I have it in my power to refer to an authority to which I trust your Lordship will be disposed, even in this refined age, to pay some respect. It is no other than that of King William, whose *glorious and immortal memory* your Lordship's friends were once in the habit of drinking, as a favourite toast, at their political convivialities. That Monarch, before his accession to the English throne, was applied to by James II for his consent to a repeal of the English Test Laws, which were found by James to be the grand obstacle to the success of his favourite project—the establishment of Popery. To this application the Prince replied in a manner, which not only contained a full recognition of the indispensable necessity of those laws, for the security of the Church, but a most satisfactory answer to the cavils which are frequently made against them, on account of their being, as is most falsely pretended, incompatible with toleration, and fraught with hardships on those whom they exclude from power. It is stated by Hume that, upon receiving the application, 'the Prince would go no further than to promise his consent to the repeal of the penal statutes, by which the Nonconformists as well as the Catholics were exposed to punishment: *the Test he esteemed a security absolutely necessary for the established religion.*' Being further pressed upon this subject, Pensionary Fagel is stated by the historian to have thus expressed the sentiments of their Highnesses: 'That it was their fixed opinion, that no man, merely becaufe he differed from the established faith, should ever, while he remained a peaceable subject, be exposed to any punishment or even vexation. That the Prince and Princess gave heartily their consent for repealing legally all the penal statutes, as well those enacted against the Catholics as against the Protestant Nonconformists; and would concur with the King in any measure for that purpose. That *the Test was not to be considered as a penalty inflicted on the professors of any religion, but as a security provided for the established worship:* THAT IT WAS NO PUNISHMENT ON MEN TO BE EXCLUDED FROM PUBLIC OFFICES, AND TO LIVE PEACEABLY ON THEIR OWN REVENUES OR INDUSTRY.'

"Thus far the historian. In a modern pamphlet, entitled The Letters of Fabius to the Right Honourable William Pitt, &c. and published in 1801 by Cobbett and Morgan*, the answer of Fagel is stated to contain

* "As this valuable pamphlet is probably out of print, Mr. Cobbett would do well to republish it at the present juncture."

the following juſt and moſt appropriate ſentiments, which I quote literally from the above-mentioned publication, where the authority on which they are given does not appear; that ' Since the matter that was then in hand related not to the making of new laws, but to the total abrogation of thoſe already made, both by King and Parliament, their Highneſſes did not ſee how it could be expected of them that they ſhould conſent to ſuch an abrogation, to which they had ſo juſt an averſion; *as being a thing contrary to all the laws and cuſtoms of all ſtates, whether Proteſtants or Papiſts, who admitted none to a ſhare in the government or public employments but thoſe who profeſſed the public and eſtabliſhed religion, and endeavoured to ſecure it againſt all attempts whatever.*'"

And yet that forward young Whig, Lord Milton, whoſe preſumption is equalled only by his ignorance of the principles of our Conſtitution, has the aſſurance to aſſert that he and his aſſociates *ſupport the principles of the Revolution,* while the preſent Miniſters, whom they oppoſe, have *violated* thoſe principles. In the name of common ſenſe, let this ſtupid boy go to ſchool again; at leaſt, let him ſubmit to the labour of reading and conſidering the life of William the Third, and then learn by heart Mr. Burke's maſterly appeal from the *New to the Old Whigs.* When he ſhall have undergone this diſcipline, if he have any ſenſe of ſhame or of decency ſtill unſubdued by party-ſpirit, he will not again inſult the underſtanding of mankind, by the prepoſterous attempt to confound *ſupport* with *hoſtility*! Mr. Bowles reaſons upon the anxiety which our anceſtors diſplayed to render thoſe laws which they truly conſidered as the ſafeguards of the State, as the bulwarks of the Throne and the Altar, as permanent as human laws can be. To thoſe who are charmed with the divine attribute of omnipotence, which, with more impiety than juſtice, has been aſcribed, by a Whig lawyer, to the Britiſh Parliament, it will appear to be blaſphemy to queſtion its right to repeal the fundamental laws of the Britiſh Conſtitution. But let ſuch perſons meet and confute, if they can, the following ſolid reaſoning upon the ſubject.

"To make irrevocable laws is a taſk which ſeems, *prima facie*, to exceed even the omnipotence of Parliament; yet, on the other hand, the State which has no ſuch laws, cannot be ſaid to have any fixed and permanent conſtitution. I believe you will allow that *Magna Charta*, the *Habeas Corpus Act*, and the *Bill of Rights*, are laws of that deſcription, and that it is not within the competence of Parliament to repeal them; ſince they cannot be repealed without breaking down ſome of the pillars which ſupport the Conſtitution. Our forefathers, in the days of King William, and at a ſubſequent period, finding that our Proteſtant eſtabliſhed Church had become, by the uncontrollable force of events, an integral and an eſſential part of our happy conſtitution, thought it their duty to place the laws which had been made for its preſervation, and which, as I have ſhewn, were alone calculated to afford it protection, beyond the danger of abrogation, by putting it out of the power of poſterity to repeal them, without a violation of principles which are indiſputably fundamental.

This object they effected by contrivances of ſo admirable a nature, as to prove, in a moſt ſtriking manner, the ſagacity of the men who lived in thoſe *dark ages*. The firſt expedient they reſorted to for this purpoſe ſeems, of itſelf, fully ſufficient to render the repeal of the laws in queſtion impoſſible. Aware that ſuch repeal could never take place without the royal aſſent, they bound the conſcience of the King to refuſe that aſſent, in caſe he ſhould ever be called upon to give it, by obliging him, at his coronation, and by way of ſolemn and fundamental compact, to ſwear to maintain, to the utmoſt of his power, the Proteſtant reformed religion as eſtabliſhed by law. And as the Teſt Laws were made, according, not only to their obvious deſign, but to the ſubſequent expreſs declaration of the Legiſlature itſelf*, 'for the ſecurity of the Church of England as by law eſtabliſhed,' nothing can be more obvious than that the Sovereign who ſhould conſent to the repeal of thoſe laws would break his engagement to maintain, to the utmoſt of his power, the religion eſtabliſhed by law. This conſtruction would be indiſputably juſt even if the words 'to the utmoſt of his power' were not a part of the oath. Thoſe words, however, are judiciouſly inſerted, ſince they tend to prevent the poſſibility of any doubt or heſitation in the Royal breaſt, with regard to a ſubject of ſuch major importance. Thus are the Teſt Laws themſelves incorporated with the Conſtitution; and thus is their preſervation made an eſſential part of the fundamental compact, which every Britiſh Monarch muſt take upon his acceſſion to the Throne.

"Let it not, however, be ſuppoſed, that the obligation of the Coronation Oath is confined to the Sovereign. Parliament is the legiſlative council of the King, and his conſtitutional adviſer in all matters of legiſlation. It would be prepoſterous beyond all deſcription of abſurdity to maintain, that this Council can, conſiſtently with its duty, adviſe the Sovereign to violate his Coronation Oath; that is, not merely to forſwear himſelf, but to break his fundamental compact—the very condition on which he holds his Crown. It is, therefore, clearly beyond the conſtitutional competence of Parliament to paſs, through either Houſe, and of courſe even to entertain, a Bill to repeal the Corporation and Teſt Acts. I am aware, my Lord, that in ſaying this I am caſting a moſt ſevere reflection upon Parliaments which are now no more. I muſt not, however, ſuffer my reſpect for any part of the Conſtitution to ſuperſede my regard for the whole. What then ſhall be ſaid of thoſe Miniſters, who, uniting the character of legiſlative and executive counſellors of the Crown, propoſe or favour Bills of ſuch a deſcription?

"In the following reign an opportunity offered, which the Legiſlature did not fail to improve, of fortifying the Eſtabliſhed Church, by an additional, and, ſeemingly, an impregnable bulwark, and by providing ſtill further againſt the poſſibility of a repeal of thoſe laws by which it had before been ſo carefully guarded. The occaſion to which I allude occurred in the union between England and Scotland; of which union the preſervation, for ever, of the reſpective churches of the two countries was made an eſſential and a fundamental condition. With regard to the Engliſh Church, the Act of Union, Stat. 5 Ann. c. 8, declares, that 'Stat. 13 Eliz. c. 12, and the Act of Uniformity, Stat. 13 and 14 Ch. II, c. 4, and

"* 10 Ann. c. 2."

all and ſingular other Acts of Parliament, now in force for the eſtabliſhment and preſervation of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government thereof, ſhall remain and be in full force *for ever*.' And alſo that 'every King and Queen, ſucceeding and coming to the Royal Government of the kingdom of Great Britain, at his or her coronation, ſhall take and ſubſcribe an oath to maintain and preſerve, inviolably, the ſaid ſettlements of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government thereof, as by law eſtabliſhed.' Thus was the preſervation of the Church, as by law eſtabliſhed, and conſequently of the fundamental laws enacted for that purpoſe, made a condition of that great and important tranſaction, the incorporation into one, of the two, till then, independent kingdoms of England and Scotland, and even the Coronation Oath was made more full and preciſe; to ſtrengthen, as it were, the before inſurmountable barrier againſt every attempt to repeal the laws on which the Church depended for protection. In like manner the late Union between Great Britain and Ireland was made an occaſion of furniſhing another barrier to the Church, and of making its preſervation a bond of alliance between the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. By the Stat. 40 G. III, c. 67, the Act by which this great tranſaction was completed, it is enacted, that 'the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government of the United Church of England and Ireland, ſhall be, and ſhall remain in full force for ever, as the ſame are now eſtabliſhed for the Church of England; and the continuance and preſervation of the ſaid United Church as the eſtabliſhed Church of England and Ireland ſhall be deemed and taken to be an eſſential and fundamental part of the Union.'

"It is impoſſible, my Lord, to read the paſſage here extracted from the Act, by which the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland were united, without being ſtruck with the inconſiſtency of the Legiſlature, in profeſſing ſo much ſolicitude for the perpetual maintenance of the Proteſtant Epiſcopal Church, when, by progreſſive conceſſions to the Iriſh Romaniſts, it had ſo nearly given up the bulwarks of that Church, to a claſs of ſeparatiſts, againſt the deſigns of which it was the main object of thoſe bulwarks to guard, and which is indiſputably the moſt formidable to our Proteſtant eſtabliſhment. Unleſs the reaſoning which I have above ſubmitted to your Lordſhip's conſideration can be overthrown, it neceſſarily follows that the ſyſtem of conceſſion, which had been ſo long purſued, involves a groſs violation of ſome of the fundamental principles of our Conſtitution; of thoſe principles which were conſecrated at the Revolution, which were moſt ſolemnly recognized by the two Acts of Union above noticed; and the operation of which had placed the Houſe of Brunſwick on the Britiſh Throne."

What an advantage, then, would be given to the enemies of the Conſtitution by the removal of theſe national bulwarks! If the Conſtitution were to be placed in preciſely the ſame ſituation in which it ſtood previous to the acceſſion of William the Third, with what force could the Whigs attempt to juſtify the Revolution of 1688? and if in ſuch caſe a prince ſhould occupy the Britiſh throne entertaining the ſame principles, and harbouring the ſame deſigns,

as our Second James, with what propriety could they attempt to reſiſt his efforts, or to replace thoſe obſtacles to the eſtabliſhment of Popery and of arbitrary power, which, in a moment of political phrenzy, they had, raſhly and wickedly, removed? They would not only have ſupplied their opponents with the ſtrongeſt poſſible arguments againſt themſelves, but they would have put them in a ſituation of ſtrength and power, which would enable them to give to thoſe arguments a very deciſive *effect*. Our author makes ſome brief reflections on the ſtate of the Eſtabliſhed Church in Ireland, which is, indeed, moſt deplorable; but on which we muſt reſerve, for another opportunity, the information which we have to convey, and the comments which we have to offer. Arguing to prove the prejudicial conſequences of ſacrificing principle to expediency, he ſhews the effect of the conceſſions made, with ſuch improvident profuſion, to the Iriſh Romaniſts. He juſtly remarks that no religion is ſo infected with the ſpirit of proſelytiſm as Popery; and then purſues his argument in the following ſtrain.

"No wonder, my Lord, that the Roman religion in that country has, of late years, been rapidly gaining ground upon the Proteſtant. No wonder that, as I am credibly informed, the grant of the elective franchiſe to the Romaniſts produced a viſible and an inſtantaneous increaſe of Popery. The effect, however, of conceſſion has not been merely to render the Romaniſts more formidable in point of numbers; it has made them, at the ſame time, more inſatiable in their deſires, and more imperious, as well as unreaſonable, in their demands. Of this it is impoſſible to conceive a ſtronger proof than the extent of their claims, as unfolded in the Petition which they preſented to both Houſes of Parliament on the 25th of March, 1805. The object of that Petition was nothing leſs than the entire removal of every remaining diſability, and a full participation of power, rank, and office, with the members of the Eſtabliſhed Church; in ſhort, according to their inſidious language, complete emancipation; that is to ſay, a repeal, in their favour, of all the laws, ſtill in force, which were made for the protection of the Proteſtant Church againſt Popery and arbitrary power; the enemies from which, as experience had proved, it had moſt to dread. What would have been ſaid, my Lord, if the Romaniſts of Ireland, when firſt they demanded any thing beyond toleration, had intimated the remoteſt poſſibility of their requeſts being ever carried to the extent of this Petition? Would not the moſt ſtrenuous advocate for their claims have rejected ſuch exorbitant pretenſions, when the floodgates of conceſſion were firſt opened? Inſtead, however, of ſuffering us to expect ſuch an enlargement of views, the claimants of that day took care to encourage the hope, that they would be completely ſatisfied with a grant of their then comparatively moderate requeſts. Nay, at a ſubſequent period, when they had taſted the ſweets of conceſſion, they moſt poſitively diſavowed all claim to what they call emancipation; and they then ſtated their *ultimate* claims, which were publiſhed, in the following terms, by the authority of their General Committee: 'Reſolved, that the Committee has been informed that reports have been circulated, that the application of the Catholics for

relief extends to total and unlimited emancipation; that therefore we think it neceſſary to declare that the whole of our late application, whether to His Majeſty's Miniſters, or to men in power, or to private members of the Legiſlature, neither did nor does contain any thing more, either in ſubſtance or in principle, than the four following objects:

"'First; Admiſſion to the profeſſion and practice of the law.

"'Second; Capacity to ſerve on county magiſtracies.

"'Third; A right to be ſummoned and to ſerve on grand and petit juries.

"'Fourth; The right of voting in counties only for *Proteſtant* members of Parliament; in ſuch a manner, however, as that a Roman Catholic freeholder ſhould not vote, unleſs he either rents or cultivates a farm of twenty pounds per annum, or elſe ſhall be in poſſeſſion of a freehold of twenty pounds a year.'

"Where, my Lord, are now the profeſſions of moderation, which are ſo obvious on the face of the above reſolution? What is become of that ſtudious renunciation of all claim to emancipation, which is therein contained, and by which the Romaniſts endeavoured, at that period, to remove even the ſuſpicion of having ſuch a claim in contemplation? Theſe queſtions find their anſwer in the Petition of 1805, where full and complete emancipation (as it is termed) ſtands confeſſed as the only relief which can ſatisfy the expectations, or conciliate the minds, of the Petitioners. But can we be ſure that even this demand (ſuppoſing that it were not, for the reaſons already ſtated, inadmiſſible) is the boundary of their views—that they have no object beyond what they call emancipation; that, when they are admitted to a full participation of power with the members of the eſtabliſhment, they will not uſe that power to the prejudice of the Church, and in oppoſition to that Proteſtant aſcendancy, which is naturally the grand object of their jealouſy? They endeavour, indeed, to quiet our minds, on this ſubject, by the moſt poſitive aſſurances, that they intend nothing hoſtile to the exiſting eſtabliſhment. But are the profeſſions of the Petitioners in 1805 more to be truſted than thoſe of the Catholic Committee in 1795? Admitting, indeed, the *ſincerity* of both, the experience we have had, with regard to the former, forbids us to place any reliance on the latter. Such experience warns us no longer to diſregard the inſtructive truth—that conceſſion is the parent of demand; and reaſon ſteps in with the ſeaſonable admonition, that, if we would effectually ſecure the Eſtabliſhed Church, we muſt be careful not to arm with the power of moleſtation, thoſe, from whom it has any cauſe to apprehend danger."

We have often informed our readers that Mr. Grattan, when he firſt applied to the Iriſh Parliament for a repeal of the reſtrictive laws, pledged himſelf in the moſt ſolemn manner, that the Romaniſts had no further objects in view, and would prefer no other claims. What credit was due either to *him* or to *them*, their ſubſequent conduct has ſufficiently proved. Were *Catholic Emancipation*, as it is already called, granted them to-morrow, they would be no more ſatisfied than they are at this moment, or than they have been at any period ſince the repeal of the laws before

adverted to. They would not reſt till they had made the religion of Rome the eſtabliſhed religion of Ireland; and what toleration the Proteſtants, if any were ſuffered to remain after ſuch an event, which is not at all probable, would experience, a reference to the pregnant page of hiſtory will enable us to aſcertain. It is a curious and a ſtriking fact, noticed by Mr. Bowles, that in the petition of the Papiſts in 1805, they made the grant of the *elective* franchiſe the very ground of their application for the *repreſentative* franchiſe—ſo true it is that one conceſſion naturally leads to another.

Mr. Bowles contends, that we have already carried conceſſion ſo far, that, in order to avert the ruinous conſequences of a compliance with new demands, we ſhould reſolutely make a ſtand, and firmly declare, that not a ſtep farther will we go. He ſhews that the Romaniſts of Ireland enjoy toleration in its fulleſt extent, and that, if they are not ſatisfied with their preſent ſituation, it is prepoſterous to ſuppoſe that the removal of the few remaining reſtrictions to which they are yet ſubject would ſatisfy them.

"I am aware, however," he continues, "that they do not allow their ſituation to be quite ſo good as I have here deſcribed it, and that they affect only to wiſh for admiſſion to the full benefits of the Britiſh Conſtitution. But this proves, either that they do not underſtand the Conſtitution, or that they diſingenuouſly miſrepreſent it. In what code, my Lord, does it appear, that the Britiſh Conſtitution beſtows on all deſcriptions of perſons an equal right of admiſſibility to power and office? Inſtead of recogniſing, that Conſtitution takes eſpecial care to prevent ſuch an equality, by requiring certain qualifications, upon a principle of *excluſion*; in order that no perſons may be admitted to ſituations of truſt and confidence, but thoſe who may ſafely be entruſted with the power and influence attached to them. It proceeds, in this reſpect, upon a ſuppoſition, the very reverſe of that on which all the claims of the Romaniſts are founded—that offices are beſtowed for the benefit of the community, rather than of the individuals who are to fill them. It is therefore, my Lord, that the teſt laws require conformity with the Eſtabliſhed Church, by way of qualification for offices of power and truſt. This qualification is indiſpenſable in the higheſt of all offices. By Stat. 12, 13 W. III. cap. 2, it is enacted, 'that whoſoever 'ſhall hereafter come to the poſſeſſion of the Crown, ſhall join in commu-'nion with the Church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed.' The ſame principle is applied, with evident propriety, to thoſe who hold offices under the Crown: and if this were not the caſe, the Conſtitution would be chargeable with the moſt palpable inconſiſtency—with the groſſeſt abſurdity. For what could be more inconſiſtent or abſurd than to expoſe a Proteſtant Prince to be ſurrounded with Popiſh Miniſters; or to entruſt a perſon of the latter deſcription with the care of the Royal conſcience, which is bound, by an oath, to maintain the Proteſtant eſtabliſhed faith? Such inconſiſtency and abſurdity, however, lie at the very bottom of the claims for which your Lordſhip is a moſt ſtrenuous advocate. Perhaps, indeed, your Lordſhip may object to my epithets; and what I call inconſiſtency and abſurdity, you may denominate liberality; but what under-

ſtanding beyond that of a child can fail to perceive that ſuch liberality would be ſubverſive of a Proteſtant Throne? In fact, the claimants, inſtead of being debarred of any one of the numerous and incalculable benefits which are ſo richly beſtowed, and, thank Heaven! ſo ſecurely protected, by the Britiſh Conſtitution, enjoy thoſe benefits in the fulleſt poſſible extent—in as ample a manner as their brethren of the Eſtabliſhment; and I challenge your Lordſhip to ſpecify a ſingle right or privilege, civil or religious, which is recogniſed by the Conſtitution, and of which, in the midſt of their complainings, they are not in the full and undiſturbed poſſeſſion. The truth is, that, under the deceptious pretext of wiſhing to be admitted to the full benefits of the Conſtitution, they ſeek an alteration in the Conſtitution itſelf, in a moſt material part. They claim a ſacrifice in their favour of ſome of its eſſential principles; an abrogation of ſome of its fundamental laws; in a word, they demand a ſurrender of ſome of its main bulwarks. And to induce us to yield to ſuch exorbitant pretenſions, they aſſure us that our compliance will procure their ſteady ſupport and co-operation in the defence of the country, ſuch as it would then be. Giving them, however, full credit for this aſſurance, it ſurely behoves us to beware how we tamper with the Conſtitution; for when that is gone, our great bond of union will be broken, the ſource of Britiſh patriotiſm and Britiſh valour will be dried up, and the country, ſo long the boaſt of Britons, and the envy of the world, will be ſcarcely worth defending."

Having fully juſtified the King from the charges of his preſumptuous ſervants, and having ſhewn that the *pledge* which His Majeſty deſired was rendered indiſpenſably neceſſary by the conduct of thoſe ſervants, he concludes one of the beſt written, moſt argumentative, and moſt ſpirited, productions of his prolific and able pen, with the following ſtrong and judicious remarks:

"One word, my Lord, before I conclude, reſpecting the general doctrine, contained in the motions which have given occaſion to this letter—that it is contrary to the duty of Miniſters, to reſtrain themſelves by *any* pledge, expreſſed or implied, from giving their Sovereign any advice which, in their judgment, the courſe of circumſtances may render neceſſary: in other words, that in adviſing the Crown they ought to be ſubject to no other reſtraint than their own judgment. This doctrine is, I contend, a groſs and a moſt dangerous fallacy.

"Miniſters are free to give ſuch advice only as is compatible with the fundamental principles of the Conſtitution. They are, *ipſo facto*, reſtrained by *implied* pledges, never to counſel a violation of thoſe principles. By accepting their official ſituations, they virtually reſtrain themſelves by ſuch pledges. They are not at liberty to adviſe the King to make his prerogative abſolute—to govern without Parliaments—to aſſume a diſpenſing power—or to break down any of the landmarks which the Conſtitution has ſet up, to preſerve the regal authority on one hand, or the rights of the people on the other.

"Should it be ſaid that all this was to be preſumed, and that the motions were neceſſarily to be underſtood with ſuch reſtrictions; I anſwer, they could not be ſo underſtood; they would not bear ſuch a conſtruction. They contained an unequivocal declaration that it is contrary to the duty

of miniſters to bind themſelves by *any* pledge, expreſſed or implied. It is impoſſible for language more clearly or more poſitively to negative the poſſibility of Miniſters, conſiſtently with their duty, being bound by any reſtraint but ſuch as may be preſcribed by their own judgment; to which fluctuating, and, in times like theſe, more than ever precarious, ſtandard, the juſtifiableneſs of Miniſterial advice is referred by the modern expounders of the Conſtitution.

"It is impoſſible not to perceive a cloſe affinity between this doctrine, and that arrogant ſyſtem, which aſſuming the proud title of the new philoſophy, refers all moral obligations to the teſt of conſcience, and finds a ready juſtification for the worſt of crimes, for rebellion, treaſon, and regicide, provided the perpetrator have a mind ſo depraved, a heart ſo vitiated, and a conſcience ſo perverted, as to commit them *conſcientiouſly*. At the riſk of being thought deficient in that *liberality*, which is the boaſt of the age in which we live, I will venture to proteſt againſt ſuch theories as ſubverſive, both of morality and of civil ſociety; and to affirm that virtue conſiſts, not in following the dictates of conſcience, whatever they may happen to be, but in conſcientiouſly obſerving thoſe laws which the agent is bound to obey, and, above all, in obedience to that will which is the univerſal law. Upon the ſame principle, with regard to the queſtion before us, I humbly conceive it to be the duty—the firſt duty—of Miniſters, not, as has lately been contended, to keep themſelves free to purſue any courſe which their judgment may approve, but to take eſpecial care that their judgment be rightly informed, that it be well directed, that it be under the guidance of ſound principles—of the genuine principles of the Conſtitution. This they are bound to do by virtue of an implied pledge, which devolved upon them when they aſſumed their official character.

"From implied pledges the tranſition is eaſy to ſuch as are expreſſed; and even with regard to theſe, it would, I conceive, be difficult to juſtify the unqualified language of the motions. I wiſh the movers had fairly met, though it had been but hypothetically, the caſe which in reality had occurred; and had informed the public whether, on the ſuppoſition that Miniſters had given the King juſt cauſe to expect from them unconſtitutional advice, and that his Majeſty, inſtead of reſorting to the harſh meaſure of diſmiſſing them from his councils, had called upon them for a pledge, never to offer ſuch advice; whether, I ſay, under ſuch circumſtances, Miniſters would violate their firſt duty, or any duty, by liſtening to ſuch a call, and by promiſing to make the rules of the Conſtitution the limits of their functions, as confidential counſellors of the Crown.

"If, however, the late Miniſters thought differently upon this ſubject; if, according to their view of the Conſtitution, it was contrary to their duty to bind themſelves, at the call of their Sovereign, by a pledge, which ſome of themſelves had rendered indiſpenſably neceſſary for the quiet of his mind, and the ſafety of his conſcience—and the ſole object of which was to reſtrain them from adviſing meaſures, from a compliance with which he felt himſelf reſtrained by the moſt ſolemn ſanctions, religious and political; if, in ſhort, they were of opinion that they could not be reſtrained by any pledge, implied or expreſſed, from adviſing the King to break his coronation oath, or to violate principles which had been conſecrated by the Revolution, and which had placed the Houſe of Brunſwick on the throne; if, I ſay, ſuch were their notions of duty, they could do

no otherwiſe than decline the pledge which had been required from them. What I complain of is, that the perſonal act of the King, in demanding ſuch a pledge, has been made a ſubject of accuſation in Parliament. It would be well, my Lord, if a veil could be drawn for ever over this proceeding; but as that is impoſſible, nothing remains but to endeavour to counteract its miſchievous tendency, by expoſing its unconſtitutional nature, and by ſubjecting it to merited cenſure, and to general reprobation. This duty, my Lord, I have endeavoured faithfully to perform."

Some Account of New Zealand, particularly the Bay of Iſlands, and ſurrounding Country; with a Deſcription of the Religion and Government, Language, Arts, Manufactures, Manners and Cuſtoms of the Natives, &c. &c. By John Savage, Eſq. Surgeon, and Correſponding Member of the Royal Jennerian Society. Pp. 110. 8vo. 7s. Murray, 1807.

THE contiguity of New Zealand to our ſettlements in New South Wales, and the advantages which might reſult from the eſtabliſhment of a mutual intercourſe between thoſe countries, are ſuch as to give ſome intereſt to any work purporting to give an account of the "language, arts, manufactures, manners, and cuſtoms" of the two extenſive iſlands in the South Sea called New Zealand. But before we diſcuſs this point, we ſhall examine what information is here communicated reſpecting a country of equal extent with Great Britain.

Without troubling his readers with any introductory or perſonal details, Mr. Savage abruptly introduces them on the 18th of September, 1805, to the North Cape of New Zealand, in 34° 25 min. ſouth latitude, and 173° 4 min. eaſt longitude. On the 20th he makes the Bay of Iſlands, where he has made five common profiles of the rocks as they appear at the diſtance of 15 or 20 miles. This the author calls "directions for ſailing into the Bay of Iſlands," where the harbour is *good*, he ſays, only a few "ſunken rocks," and "guſts of wind that ruſh down from the high lands," that render it neceſſary to "have two anchors always ready." The natives immediately ſurrounded the veſſel in canoes, each containing ten or twelve perſons, who, although deſcribed as cannibals, betrayed no ſymptom of ſavage ferocity. In the neighbourhood of the bay are "patches" or plots of cultivated ground, "on each of which is ſeen a well-thatched hut, and a ſhed at a little diſtance." Theſe appearances, ſeen from the ſhip, and the abundant ſupply of fiſh and potatoes brought by the natives, abated the author's prejudice againſt this country. But, "*it is to be underſtood*," he obſerves, "that my remarks have been confined to the Bay of Iſlands, and the ſhores immediately ſurrounding it; *a general account of New Zealand is therefore not to be expected.*" Thus, his title, inſtead of "Some Account of New Zealand," ſhould have been "Some Account of the Bay of Iſlands in New Zealand."

But this is not the only inſtance of the author's ſkill in the art of bookmaking, as will appear in the courſe of our analyſis.

" The Bay of Iſlands," he proceeds in a new chapter, " ſo called, in all *probability*, from a number of ſmall rocky iſlets ſituated about its entrance, lies in 35° 6 min. S. latitude, and 174° 43 min. E. longitude. The country in the immediate vicinity of the bay is almoſt deſtitute of wood, though there are immenſe foreſts at 15 or 20 miles diſtance. The ſoil is a light vegetable mould, but rich, *as it would appear* by the vegetation it produces. There are ſeveral villages in the neighbourhood, and a great number of ſtraggling huts. The circumjacent parts *would undoubtedly afford* great opportunities for botanical reſearch. The fir trees grow to an amazing height, and are 5 to 6 feet in diameter. The flax is of a very ſuperior quality; its texture is beautifully ſilky, its fibres of great ſtrength, and 4 or 5 feet long. The fern grows here in abundance, and was previous to the introduction of potatoes almoſt their only eſculent vegetable. *There is every appearance of a great ſcope for mineralogical inveſtigation*, though the natives appear ignorant of the exiſtence of metal of any kind in New Zealand. There is a green ſemi-tranſparent talc, of conſiderable hardneſs, with which they make their tools and ornaments. *As far as I could learn*, they have no larger animal than the dog, which is a native, uſually black and white, and in figure like our fox-dog; all the other animals found here are ſuch as we call vermin. The immediate neighbourhood of this bay is unfavourable to ornithological enquiry; but *I have no doubt the interior* MUST *abound in a great variety of rare and beautiful birds:* the only ſpecies I ſaw was a pigeon of beautiful plumage, large ſize, and delicious eating. Cockatoos and parrots in great variety *are ſaid* to inhabit the woods, as well as an infinity of ſmall birds. The bay abounds in fiſh of *all* deſcriptions *uſually found in the ſame parallel of latitude*, although the oyſters are not fit for a London market. A great variety of rare and beautiful ſhells for the cabinets of the curious *may here be procured.*"

Such a tiſſue of *ſuppoſititious* facts we have never before read from the pen of an Engliſh traveller. The night-gown travels of Vaillant and Damberger are far ſurpaſſed by our Jennerian correſpondent; and if he always reaſons thus, " I have no doubt—there is every appearance—muſt abound—are ſaid—may be," *we* have no doubt, that he *muſt be* appointed to *vaccinate* by *Act of Parliament!* But to proceed with this entertaining account: " The capital town in this part of the country is called Tippoonah, and contains about 100 houſes. The court and reſidence of the chieftain, Tippeehee, is ſituated on an iſolated [*inſulated*] rock, which ſerves as a fortreſs and a refuge in time of war, and contains their arſenal or collection of ſpears and war mats." Here the author relates a pretty little tale about Princeſs Tippeehee falling in love with a perſon of inferior condition, and how her father, Tippeehee, confined her in a cell like a dove cot, in which ſhe could not ſtretch herſelf in any direction, and fed her in a trough, and denied her all converſation or other accommodation. This meaſure

had the desired effect, however, and "the cage, which is ornamented with much grotesque carving, still remains as a memento in terrorem to all the little refractory misses of New Zealand, who might be inclined to degrade themselves and their families by unsuitable alliances." This love tale, although told neither with the pomposity of Johnson, nor the suavity of Addison, may yet deserve the attention of some of our more zealous equality dames, whom it will supply with ample matter for a volume on the rights of the sex. The New Zealand ladies, it appears, participate with the men in all the arts but war.

"The dwellings of the natives are usually about 5 feet high, the walls of which are wattled, and made close with rushes. The thatch is of strong-bladed grass, and generally well applied. The space the hut occupies is proportioned to the number of the family; it has usually but one entrance, and is not unlike a bee-hive. These are their lodging huts, but a little distance from them are sheds, in which they dress their victuals; the latter are made by fixing four posts in the ground, about 5 feet high, and covering them over with rushes. The natives of New Zealand, *at least the part of it I visited*, are of a very superior order, both in point of personal appearance, and intellectual endowments. The men are usually from 5 feet 8 inches to 6 feet high; well proportioned, and exhibit evident marks of great strength. The colour of the natives varies between a dark chesnut and the light agreeable tinge of an English brunette. Their countenances are in general open, and although you are not alarmed by any marks of savage ferocity, you clearly discover signs of undaunted courage, and a resolution not easily shaken. But this country is not without its dissemblers, and particularly among those advanced in life are to be found some who can smile and assent to your opinion, when their natural feelings dictate a frown, and a decided disapprobation of your conduct or sentiments. They have a great aversion from [ardent] spirits, and are consequently robust, cheerful, and active, and *probably*, in many instances, *live to a great age*. I must say something of the fair part of the creation of the Bay of Islands, and there is no great impropriety in the term, for many of the women were scarcely to be termed brunettes. Their features in general are regular and pleasing, with long black hair and penetrating eyes. The tattooing of their lips, and the quantity of oil and red earth with which they anoint their persons and hair, would not be very agreeable to the taste of a refined European; but to a New Zealand lover their well formed figure, the interesting cast of their countenance, and the sweet tone of their voice, must render them extremely desirable companions to sooth his cares, for savage life has its cares and perplexities as well as that of the polished native of the most enlightened country."

The author *conjectures* that the country is divided into small principalities, whose chieftains are almost constantly at war with each other; that the wandering of the natives is thus prevented; that each tribe is divided into three classes, one educated for the priesthood (as they appear to be very pious), another for arms, and the third constitutes the rabble, each of which are distin-

guiſhed by devices variouſly tattooed on their faces and perſons. But little is known of their religion. The chief objects of their adoration are ſaid to be the ſun and moon; with the ſtars they are well acquainted, and have names for many of them, but the moon is their favourite deity. They believe it to be the abode of a man who once viſited their country, and who is ſtill very anxious for its welfare and that of its inhabitants. The author has annexed a coloured deſign of a rude figure made of green talc, and ſuſpended round the neck of both ſexes, that he ſuppoſes they intend for a likeneſs of this protecting deity; it has ſome very diſtant reſemblance to a maſk or face, like the ſhades ſeen in the diſk of the moon. "When paying their adoration to the riſing ſun," obſerves Mr. S. "the arms are ſpread and the head bowed, with the appearance of much joy in their countenances, accompanied with a degree of elegant and reverential ſolemnity." The ſong uſed on this occaſion is cheerful, and not deſtitute of harmony, while that ſung on its going down is mournful, and accompanied with emotions of ſorrow. This ſong is ſung by one perſon, but in the chorus the whole company joins. That ſung to the moon is mournful, and denotes a mixture of adoration and apprehenſion. The New Zealanders, like moſt of the natives of the South Sea iſlands, conſider it improper to touch their heads, and after combing or cutting their hair, they do not touch any meat for a day or two, but are fed by ſome of their relations. "They have an idea of a variety of rewards and puniſhments in a future ſtate." But we ſhall not fill our pages with ſpeculations which are avowedly given only as *probabilities*, and adviſe our readers to ſuſpend their judgments of the people of New Zealand, till they meet with the obſervations of a writer who has himſelf ſeen and heard what he relates.

The chapter on the government and civil policy of this extenſive country is ſo ſingularly exquiſite, that we are "*led to conjecture,*" (to uſe his own language) that ſhould the author conſtitute himſelf a profeſſor of the fortunate 'art of gueſſing,' he would find it much more profitable than bookmaking. The following ingenious reflections ſhould not be haſtily overlooked. "I have ſaid but little," obſerves Mr. S. with great truth, "concerning the religion and government of the natives of the Bay of Iſlands; *they are ſubjects that,* in my opinion, *require to be handled with great caution; the leſs, therefore,* according to my judgment, *that is ſaid upon either the better.* PRESUMING, *therefore, that their form of government is ſuch an one as is approved of, and that their religion is ſuch as the maſs of the people are well contented with, I ſhall not venture to interfere with the adminiſtration of the one, nor diſpute the tenets of the other!*" Excellent, Mr. Savage! If the ſame cautious prudence has always directed your hand in amputating limbs, or vaccinating ſubjects, you will have done little either to mutilate or propagate a race of horned bipeds in the South Sea Iſlands. A more legitimate offſpring of the French ſchool certainly never before emanated from the brain of an Engliſhman;

and this delicate apology for *abſolute* ignorance of the religion and policy of the New Zealanders is highly worthy of being ranked with the Frenchman's account of the battle of Aboukir, where he left the remainder of his fleet " on the ſcene of action."

" Hanging," we are told, " is one of the puniſhments of New Zealand;" but it is uncertain " for what crime; it is *probably* theft, which they abhor." A ſtory is alſo related of a noble being abſent, who, on his return, diſcovered that his wife had been unfaithful to him, when he immediately went in purſuit of her paramour, put him to death by a blow of an European cutlaſs, diſmiſſed his wife, and took another in her place. Tippeehee, the chieftain, was abſent during the author's ſhort ſtay at the Bay of Iſlands. Shortly after that time, and in December 1805, we find Tippeehee was amuſing himſelf with the governor and people in our new South Wales ſettlements, very curious and amuſing details of which have appeared in the Sydney Gazette, which the author ſeems not to have known, or if known, has *prudently* concealed it. This is another good example of the practical advantage of prudence, which Mr. S. has apparently only *once* violated. A portrait, we are told, " a likeneſs of Tiarrah, the brother of Tippeehee, and governor (pro tempore) is here prefixed." If indeed the print prefixed to this volume be really a likeneſs of Tiarrah, both Lavater and Dr. Gall would pronounce it a head replete with noble and grand conceptions, but of little execution. It is not, however, a ſtupid or common figure, but one indicative of great intelligence and mildneſs, as the author attributes to him. The viſage is *tattooed* all over, on the jaws, cheeks, noſe, and temples, with circular figures ſimilar to the volute of a cornice or capital. As the author is a medical man, unleſs he can aſſign a phyſical cauſe for giving Tiarrah a tolerably long beard, and very ſhort curled hair, contrary to the uſual appearances of nature, he muſt pardon us for ſuſpecting the accuracy of his pencil.

The remainder of this ſmall volume is occupied with miſcellaneous anecdotes of the manners and cuſtoms of the people of the South Sea Iſlands, which preſent nothing new or very different from the accounts already publiſhed. Mr. S. denies that the New Zealanders are cannibals, except on particular occaſions of revenge on ſome powerful chief of their enemies; and aſſerts, what we would moſt willingly believe, that " they enjoy much more pleaſure from eating potatoes than human fleſh."—" There can be no doubt," he obſerves, " but that the introduction of potatoes*

* The author gives it as his opinion, that " no kind of food taken to ſea has a greater tendency to preſerve the health of the ſhip's company, or to recover it from the effects of a long voyage, than potatoes. I think I have obſerved more benefit derived, in caſes of ſcurvy, from eating the root raw with vinegar, than from any other remedy: it appears to be moſt efficacious if taken in the morning faſting." We have ſeen caſes which tended to corroborate this opinion.

has ſaved many lives." This is one poſitive good which the Europeans have effected; but we are ſorry to ſay, that it is fully counterbalanced by an equally great, if not a greater, evil, the introduction of a diſeaſe, which may eventually depopulate their fertile country in the ſame manner as it has done that of Otaheite. On this head, it would be uncandid not to approve of the author's ſentiments, and his mild but juſt reprehenſion of thoſe who treat the people, vulgarly called ſavages, in the ſame manner as Papiſts would Proteſtants, as if there were no faith to be maintained with them. Such conduct ſhould, on all occaſions, be held up to the execration of that ſociety which compliments itſelf with the epithet *civil*, at the very time that its members are propagating a moſt diſgraceful, and, to theſe people, incurable diſeaſe. The evil conſequences of ſuch unprincipled proceedings, the author thinks, with much reaſon, have often occaſioned thoſe examples of cruelty and revenge experienced by Europeans among theſe gentile nations. Several inſtances are mentioned to prove that the New Zealanders are really a humane and moſt tender and affectionate race of people, the warmth of whoſe feelings may doubtleſs lead them occaſionally into unjuſtifiable exceſſes, but who at meeting or parting with their friends or acquaintances, uniformly diſcover all the finer emotions of the human heart.

A conſiderable part, and that not the leaſt intereſting, of this work, is devoted to an account of the conduct and manners of Moyhanger, a young man of the military claſs in New Zealand, who voluntarily accompanied the author to London, but who remained here only a few weeks before it was thought proper to ſend him home again with an ample ſtock of tools and iron inſtruments. From this young man the author has acquired all his knowledge of New Zealand; for it does not appear that he ever dared to ſet his foot on land, or that he ſaw any more of the country than what could be perceived with a glaſs from the ſhip lying in the bay. Yet with ſuch a very limited field of obſervation, aided by his pencil, he has contrived to produce a ſeven ſhilling volume. The account of the manners and emotions of this perſon contains nothing very ſingular, as the author is not a Keate, nor is Moyhanger a Prince Lee Boo. A vocabulary of the New Zealand language is alſo given, conſiſting of about one hundred terms, chiefly of parts of the body, and its primary motions. Very little confidence can be placed in a vocabulary thus formed, and taken from the mouth of a young man who never learned to ſpeak Engliſh. Turnbull, indeed, has given a brief vocabulary of the Otaheitean terms, but he had the experience of eight months reſidence in the country, and the aſſiſtance of the miſſionaries, who could converſe with the natives. Without queſtioning the propriety of the author's notation of articulate ſounds, we muſt conclude *à priori* that it is impoſſible to give a faithful vocabulary of the language of a people who have no written characters, merely from the enunciation of

one individual, whoſe voice and articulation may be extremely different from many others of his countrymen. The numerals given, alſo, reſemble more the attempts of Moyhanger to expreſs European numbers, than thoſe of his own country: thus, cadooa, 2; catoodoo, 3; cawha, 4; cadeema, 5; cahoonoo, 6; caheetoo, 7; cawhadoo, 8; and madooa, 12; matoodoo, 13; mawha, 14, &c. changing the *c* only into *m*; for to form the decimal, and twice four, to form eight, preſent analogies which we apprehend are not entirely of New Zealand invention.

On comparing the words the author gives as uſed by the people of New Zealand, or rather of the Bay of Iſlands, we find eighteen of them are uſed for the ſame purpoſe by the natives of the Friendly Iſlands, and thirty-two by the Otaheiteans, beſides ſeveral others, which vary only in a ſlight articulation, and perhaps alſo by the notation adopted by our author. Were it important, we could trace theſe analogies ſtill farther, from the pronunciation of a native of Otaheite now in this country.

It appears that ſome Europeans have ſettled in that country, and that they have had children, which differ from the others only in having their hair ſomewhat fairer, and being more baſhful.

The author's concluding remarks merit more attention than they are likely to receive at the preſent period.

"From the preceeding pages I imagine it will be ſeen that New Zealand is a country highly intereſting; the part which I have attempted to deſcribe is of greater importance than any other, on account of the ocean in its vicinity being very much frequented by ſpermaceti whales, and the ample ſupply of refreſhment it affords. The harbours are ſafe and capacious, the country beautiful, the ſoil favourable to cultivation; and the natives are, in all reſpects, a ſuperior race of Indians. Theſe advantages hold out great inducements for colonization, which may hereafter deſerve the attention of ſome European power. The exorbitant price of European labour in new colonies, it is extremely probable, would be obviated by the aſſiſtance of the natives; their intelligence is ſuch, as to render them capable of inſtruction; and I have no doubt but they would prove as eſſentially uſeful to a colony eſtabliſhed in their country, as the natives of India prove to our Aſiatic dominions."

The deplorable ſtate of our New South Wales coloniſts, and the ſterility of that boaſted paradiſe, have doubtleſs taught us a leſſon of prudence reſpecting the advantages and facilities of colonization; at the ſame time, it appears highly probable that before the colonies already ſettled there attain any degree of maturity, it will be found expedient to eſtabliſh ſome commercial intercourſe between them and the natives of New Zealand, in order to procure prompt and ſufficient ſupplies of proviſions, in caſes of ſuch calamities as that recently experienced. With reſpect to the information contained in the work before us, it may perhaps amuſe thoſe whoſe knowledge is confined to the range of the circulating library:

but they who have read the newſpapers printed in our New South Wales ſettlements, will here find but a very ſcanty portion of entertainment, and ſtill leſs of any original facts. All the *original* matter, indeed, which is here artfully denominated 'an Account of New Zealand, with a deſcription of the religion and government, language, arts, manufactures, manners, and cuſtoms, of the natives, &c. &c.' might have made a paſſable article in ſome magazine; but, as a volume, its merit is loſt in the painful reflection, that it is a *job*.

Conceſſions to America the Bane of Britain; or the Cauſe of the preſent diſtreſſed Situation of the Britiſh Colonial and Shipping Intereſts explained, and the proper Remedy ſuggeſted. 8vo, pp. 58. 2s. Richardſons. 1807.

FROM the imbecile theory and flimſy ſyſtems of the late Miniſtry, ſupported by pretexts the moſt puerile and by ſophiſtry the moſt deluſive, the intelligent writer of the tract before us appeals to plain facts and authentic documents. He depicts, in colours ſtrong but true, the diſtreſſes which pervade our colonies, in conſequence of a ſtrange departure from the wiſe policy of our anceſtors; and from an obſtinate perſeverance in meaſures, of the folly and the danger of which the freſh experience of every day affords inconteſtible proofs. The author has three points to eſtabliſh: 1. the actual diſtreſs of the colonies; 2. the cauſes from which it originated; and, 3. the beſt means of relieving it. The firſt he diſmiſſes in a very few words.

"To prove both the actual exiſtence of the diſtreſs of the Weſt India planters, and the extreme degree in which that diſtreſs exiſts, an appeal need only be made to the Gazette returns of the average price of ſugar, which for ſeveral months paſt has been from 36s. 5d. to 31s. 10d. per cwt. excluſive of duty; although the loweſt price at which his Majeſty's Miniſters have acknowledged that the planters can afford to ſell it, is 50s. per cwt. excluſive of duty: and on that ground ſugar is exempted from the whole of the new conditional duty of 3s. per cwt. unleſs the average of the ſales publiſhed in the Gazette exceeds that price. But the future proſpects of the planters are ſtill more deplorable than their preſent ſituation; for a greater quantity of the laſt crop of ſugar now remains on hand, than ever was known at this period of the year, and the arrival of the preſent crop has already commenced, the accumulation of which in our warehouſes will no doubt render the remainder of the old crop ſtill more unſaleable than it now is, and farther depreciate a market already overloaded."

Thus it appears that the medium price of ſugar has, for ſome months paſt, been only 33s. 1½d. per cwt., or 16s. 10½d. per cwt. leſs than the loweſt price at which the planters can afford to ſell it. And this price, it is underſtood, is utterly inadequate even to reimburſe the planters for the expence of cultivation, and the intereſt of capital employed. One cauſe of the diſtreſs thus pro-

duced, is ſtated to be the conduct of Great Britain towards the captured colonies, which are immediately put on the ſame footing with her own, and the produce of which is thrown into our home markets; ſo increaſing the quantity of marketable commodities, and, conſequently, reducing their price.

" But the great cauſe of the diſtreſs under which the Britiſh planters labour, is, that Great Britain gives even the colonies of which the enemy retains poſſeſſion, ſuch ſuperior advantages to thoſe which her own colonies enjoy, as have already aggrandized the former in an extraordinary degree, and as, if continued, muſt inevitably ruin the latter. In former wars, the hoſtile powers could only maintain a commercial intercourſe with their colonies by hazarding their fleets to carry it on. This neceſſity has led to ſome of the moſt brilliant naval victories of Great Britain, and conſtantly enriched her navy with the ſpoils of the enemy. But now that not a ſhip of any power with which we are at war dare ſhew itſelf on the ocean, that our enemies have no practicable means of carrying on their own commerce with their colonies, Great Britain injudiciouſly permits a neutral power to carry it on for them. Under her flag, theſe colonies receive their ſupplies from, and ſhip their produce to their reſpective mother countries, without interruption; and are ſheltered from the hazards and even the expenſes of war. Statements have been made, founded on documents of indiſputable authenticity, which prove that the ſugars of the enemies colonies, paſſing through America, are actually brought to the different continental markets of Europe in American ſhips, cheaper in point of freight and inſurance, from 8s. 11d. to 12s. 6d. per cwt. than thoſe of the Britiſh colonies can be conveyed thither, to enter into competition with them*. This difference in freight and inſurance operates as a direct bounty in favour of the produce of the colonies of the enemy; and, as the natural conſequence of ſuch encouragement, the amount of their exports to Europe has lately increaſed to an extent almoſt incredible. It appears, by the Amſterdam bills of entry, that 211 ſail of American veſſels entered that port alone, in the year 1806, with cargoes amounting to 34,085 hhds. of coffee, and 45,097 hhds. of ſugar. The quantity of produce brought to the other ports of Europe has not been correctly aſcertained; but a juſt eſtimate may be formed of the total amount of this commerce carried on under the American flag, by the ſummary of the exports of the United States for the laſt year, which are publiſhed in the American daily papers. Theſe exports are divided into two claſſes, domeſtic and foreign produce. The latter, with the exception of ſome European and Eaſt India goods re-exported, conſiſts of the produce of† the enemy's colonies, and is valued at 60,283,236 dollars; or, eſtimating the dollars at 4s. 8d. each, £14,066,088: 8 ſterling. No documents are received as to the value of the Eaſt India and European goods re-exported, which ſhould be deducted from this amount; nor as to the value of the Weſt India produce uſed for the home conſumption of America, which ſhould be added to it, in order to form an exact eſtimate of her whole import:

" * Vide Appendix A."
" † Vide Appendix B."

but it may ſafely be aſſerted, that America, without being miſtreſs of a ſingle colony, now imports more Weſt India produce from the colonies of the enemy, than is made in all thoſe which are annexed to the crown of Great Britain*."

Hence it is evident that, by this moſt unnatural, moſt impolitic, and moſt ruinous, conceſſion, we hold out a bonus to America of 10s. per cwt., as a temptation to induce her to underſell us in the foreign markets. This is really an act of political ſuicide, upon which a political or mercantile inqueſt would not fail to pronounce a verdict of *inſanity*. The Britiſh colonies labour under another diſadvantage, too, in being prevented from paying for the neceſſary ſupplies which they import from America with any other produce than rum and molaſſes, which the Americans will ſeldom take, while the foreign colonies pay for ſimilar ſupplies with any part of their produce which the Americans may chuſe to take. The conſequence of this reſtriction is, that the Britiſh coloniſts pay much dearer for their ſupplies than the foreign coloniſts.

"Another inſtance may be adduced of the ſame reprehenſible ſyſtem of policy. Notwithſtanding it is impoſſible that the Britiſh planter can import rum from the Weſt Indies, in Britiſh ſhips, ſubject to war charges, on the ſame terms at which brandy can be brought from the neighbouring ports of France, in neutral veſſels, ſubject only to peace charges, yet government, in their contracts for the army and navy, have accepted tenders for great quantities of the latter article†. As their purchaſes for the public ſervice are made duty free, they have thus evaded the protecting duties in favour of rum, which the legiſlature, in its wiſdom, has impoſed upon brandy; and by granting licences to neutral veſſels, for the eſpecial purpoſe of importing brandy direct from the ports of the enemy, they have alſo evaded thoſe navigation laws, the execution of which is ſo rigidly enforced where they operate againſt the planter, and ſo readily relaxed where they would operate in his favour."

This is a point to which the attention of our Government was

"* General Smith, of Baltimore, acknowledged in the ſenate of the United States, that the amount of Weſt India produce annually re-exported, after ſupplying the home conſumption of America, was twenty-eight millions of dollars, or nearly ſeven millions ſterling."

"† The reſpective quantities of rum and brandy contracted for by the victualling board, for the laſt three years, are as under.

	RUM.	BRANDY.
1804.....	367,000 gallons	268,000 gallons
1805.....	250,000 —	625,000 —
1806 (to Nov. 19)...	337,874 —	174,491 —

In conſequence of the urgent repreſentations made laſt year by the Weſt India committee, rum has lately been taken in preference to brandy, at a difference in price of 1s. per gallon; which, although a conſiderable, is not an adequate protection to the colonial intereſt."

ſtrongly called in this work, ſeveral years ago. The uſe of brandy in our fleets ſhould certainly be prohibited, and rum univerſally ſubſtituted in its place. Where ſo eaſy a means of injuring the enemy and of ſerving ourſelves preſents itſelf, what can be the motive for refuſing to adopt it? This writer obſerves that formerly, during war, the Britiſh planter enjoyed the monopoly of the European market; and on this principle it was, that a war tax upon ſugar of 7s. per cwt. was impoſed during Lord Sidmouth's adminiſtration; but, though the monopoly is deſtroyed (or rather tranſferred to the French and Spaniſh planters, through the means of America) the tax continues. It is not, however, by the reduction of the duty that the Britiſh coloniſt can be relieved. That duty is paid by the conſumer; and there is no reaſon to ſuppoſe that the home conſumption of ſugar would be increaſed, if the duty were reduced. Indeed, it is here proved, that the conſumption has actually increaſed ſince the duties were raiſed. Such a proof is not *concluſive*, but, ſtrengthened as it is by the author's reaſoning upon the ſubject, and by the analogous caſes which he cites, it leaves no doubt, on the mind of any unprejudiced reader, of the validity of the deductions which are drawn from it. So far, therefore, from recommending a reduction of the duty, he contends, that it would, by checking the exportation of refined ſugars, and be prejudicial to the planters. The remedies, then, which he propoſes are threefold: Firſt, the introduction of the uſe of ſugar into our diſtilleries; ſecondly, the granting bounties on the exportation of ſugars; and, laſtly, the ſtrict obſervance of our navigation laws, and the retraction of thoſe impolitic conceſſions which have lately been granted to neutral powers.

"This meaſure (the uſe of ſugar in diſtillery) is underſtood to have been oppoſed by the country gentlemen; who conſider it as tending to diminiſh the conſumption of corn, the actual price of which barely enables the farmer to pay his rent. Their objections might, in a great degree, be obviated, and other very important intereſts at the ſame time be promoted, by taking off the reſtrictions that are at preſent impoſed upon the exportation of corn from Great Britain to the Weſt Indies. Her colonies are at preſent obliged to purchaſe a great proportion of their flour and oats from America, which might be purchaſed from their fellow ſubjects, to pay that freight for the carriage of it to America, which might be paid to their fellow ſubjects; and to find a market for their ſugar among foreigners, which might alſo be found among their fellow ſubjects. Surely a regulation, which would at once attain all theſe objects, is highly deſirable; and, as it would not throw corn out of conſumption, as is generally ſuppoſed, but merely throw the conſumption of it into a new channel, and eſtabliſh an additional intercourſe, mutually advantageous, between the Weſt India colonies and the mother country, is well worthy the ſerious attention of the legiſlature *.

"* The return made to the Houſe of Commons on the 5th of May, 1806, of the quantity of proviſions imported into the Britiſh Weſt Indies,

"When it is farther recollected, that during the thirteen years, ending in 1804, Great Britain, according to documents laid before Parliament, paid more than thirty millions of money for foreign corn; her ſupply of which now depends on her enemy, who holds thoſe countries under his controul from whence 4-5ths of it were received *, it becomes expedient as a meaſure of general policy, independent of any particular conſideration due to the intereſts of the Weſt India planter, to uſe timely precautions againſt that deficiency of this indiſpenſable neceſſary of life, which, judging of the future by the paſt, we muſt expect again to experience."

There is a great deal of ſtrength in theſe reaſons; and particularly in that which relates to the exportation of corn to our colonies, in return for the propoſed introduction of ſugar into the diſtillery. As to the bounty on ſugars exported, the author propoſes that the new duty of 3s. per cwt. on ſugar, which now only attaches when the market-price is 50s. per cwt., ſhould attach, let the price be what it may, and be returned as a bounty on all ſugars exported; by which means the revenue would ſuſtain no injury, and the planter would be materially ſerved. But as this expedient would tend to raiſe the price of ſugars to the Britiſh conſumer, while it would enable our enemies to eat them at a cheaper rate, and as, at the beſt, it could not be an efficient remedy, the author wiſely prefers a reſort to our old ſyſtem, by which, the monopoly of the European market was reſerved to the Britiſh planters during war.

"Their diſtreſs ariſes from a relaxation of thoſe maritime rights which our forefathers fought and bled to eſtabliſh, and to maintain which, Great

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excluſive of the conquered iſlands, from the United States of America, for the year 1803,' being the lateſt period to which it could be made up, is as follows:

647,853 buſhels of corn.
296,409 barrels of flour.
35,095 barrels of meal.

"Each barrel of flour is conſidered as equal to five buſhels of wheat; vide the 6th report of the committee of the Houſe of Commons on the ſcarcity of corn in 1800, copy of which may be found in Dodſley's Annual Regiſter for that year, page 122. The import of the Britiſh iſlands from America may, therefore, be computed as equal to 300,000 quarters of grain. The above mentioned report of the Houſe of Commons contains the following paſſage:—'In conſequence of the ſtoppage of the diſtilleries, (from uſing corn,) at leaſt 500,000 quarters of barley, which would have been conſumed in that manufacture, will remain applicable to the ſubſtance of the people; but as it may be ſuppoſed that 11 buſhels of barley are not more than equivalent to one quarter of wheat, this can only be ſtated at about 360,000 quarters.' Thus it appears, that a new demand for Britiſh corn may be created in the ſupply of the Britiſh Weſt India colonies nearly equal to the whole quantity of grain conſumed in the diſtilleries; and exceeding that quantity, when the ſupply of the foreign Weſt India colonies, now in the poſſeſſion of Great Britain, is taken into the account."

"* Vide Appendix D."

Britain, even within our own remembrance, while at war with all the great maritime powers of Europe, who then diſputed with her the ſovereignty of the ſea, attacked and cruſhed the Northern Confederacy. But theſe invaluable rights ſhe has now, in the plenitude of her naval power, tamely ſurrendered to America, who has no means whatever of enforcing her lofty demands; and that too under circumſtances of ſo peculiar a nature, as add to the abſurdity of the conceſſion. The enemy firſt iſſued a decree, prohibiting Britiſh manufactures and colonial produce from every part of his dominions. He then iſſued a farther decree, putting Great Britain out of the protection of the law of nations, declaring her in a ſtate of blockade, and that every veſſel trading to or from her ports ſhould be conſidered as lawful prize. He acted upon this ſecond decree by invading neutral ſtates, for the avowed purpoſe of confiſcating Britiſh manufactures and colonial produce, wherever they might be found, and to whomſoever they might belong. Surely ſuch conduct called loudly for retaliation, and would have amply juſtified a ſimilar interdict on the colonial produce of the enemy; but hitherto he has been allowed to avail himſelf, to the very fulleſt extent, of his ſuperiority by land, while Great Britain has renounced all the advantages which ſhe might and ought to have derived from her ſuperiority at ſea."

Nay, to ſuch an extent is the hoſtility of our malignant enemy carried, that we have recently heard, that he has actually iſſued an imperial mandate, prohibiting the exportation of corn to Britain, *under pain of death!* And we are to aſſiſt him in his ruinous deſigns on this country, by our own weakneſs and impolicy. In anſwer to a ridiculous plea which has been urged, by ſome of the partiſans of unlimited conceſſion, that France having changed *her* navigation ſyſtem, it behoves us to change our own; the author enters into an explanation of all the navigation laws which have been paſſed in France from the year 1717 to the preſent time; whence it appears that the ſevereſt reſtrictions have uniformly been impoſed on neutral trade by the rulers of that country, and have never been relaxed unleſs from abſolute neceſſity, produced by our deſtruction of their fleets, and our vaſt maritime ſuperiority. By the laſt law paſſed on this ſubject at the beginning of the preſent war, the produce of French colonies ſhipped in neutral veſſels are ſubject to the ſame duties on exportation from the place of its growth, which it would pay on its arrival in France, in French veſſels. This law is expreſsly ſtated to be in force only *during the war*. But by our connivance at the trade which this law was paſſed to encourage, independently of other diſadvantages, we enable the French Government to raiſe as great a revenue on the produce of their colonies as they would, in time of peace, or as they would, did their navy ride triumphant on the ocean. And this, too, without the concomitant expence to which, in either of thoſe caſes, they muſt be ſubject, as well for the collection of the revenue, as for the tranſport of their produce to Europe. There is ſuch an infatuation in our Miniſters on this ſubject, that it would ſeem as if they were ſtricken with political blindneſs!

The writer then proceeds to examine the validity of other reaſons which have been urged in ſupport of theſe ruinous conceſſions. And here he ſucceſsfully expoſes the groſs ignorance and imbecility diſplayed in that execrable pamphlet, "An Inquiry into the State of the Nation;" the author of which was one of thoſe *literati*, whom Mr. Malcolm Laing, in the Houſe of Commons, recently extolled the late Miniſters for rewarding. That he deſerved to be rewarded we admit, but by Buonaparte, not by Lord Grenville. We agree, however, ſo far with Mr. Laing as to acknowledge, that the late Miniſters were more anxious to reward literary merit than the preſent Miniſters. The attention which the former paid to men of literary talents was highly praiſeworthy, however miſtaken they occaſionally were in the direction of it; and the neglect which ſuch men are ſaid to experience from their ſucceſſors, we ſhall be the laſt to juſtify. Mr. Canning, however, muſt be excepted from the general obſervation: poſſeſſing great literary abilities himſelf, he knows how to appreciate them in others; having always too applied them to good purpoſes, he can hold in due eſtimation thoſe who have purſued a ſimilar courſe; and the ſentiments which he lately expreſſed on the ſubject muſt meet with the hearty concurrence of all who have rightly conſidered the influence of the preſs, in the preſent diſtracted times. The author's able detection of the inquirer's ignorance we ſhall extract.

"But the advocates for this commerce argue againſt any obſtruction to it on the part of Great Britain, on very different grounds; while ſome deny the right, but admit the policy of her interference, others admit the right, but deny the policy. An Inquiry into the State of the Nation, written under the inſpection of two leading members of the late adminiſtration, contains ſome remarks on this topic, which claim attention not ſo much on account of their own weight, as of the authority under which they were uſhered into public notice. The ingenuity of the author is entitled to commendation; he has made the moſt of his materials; but alas! in this part of his work, he has laboured for Egyptian taſk-maſters, who required him to make bricks without ſtraw. His flowing ſtyle, and well-turned periods, may amuſe the ear; his plauſible reaſoning may, for a moment, beguile the underſtanding; but thoſe who think as well as read, who adopt no concluſions without examining the premiſes from which they are drawn, will ſoon detect the fallacy and weakneſs of his arguments. The queſtion of right, on the part of America, to carry on this commerce, is abandoned at the outſet; but the policy, on the part of Great Britain, of ſubmitting to the continuance of it, is ſtrenuouſly contended for; and it is aſſerted, that 'the real difference between the former and the preſent method of carrying French colonial produce, and ſupplying the French colonies, is extremely trifling in its ultimate conſequences; and that other reaſons, of a very poſitive nature, enjoin a departure from ſuch claims in the preſent ſituation of affairs.'

"This writer ſuppoſes views and objects in themſelves abſurd; and by imputing thoſe views and objects to the advocates for the navigation ſyſ-

tem, he endeavours to fix that abſurdity upon them, which only belongs to his own ſuppoſitions. He ſuppoſes it to be their object, to prevent a ſupply of any colonial produce from reaching France; when the true object is, merely to prevent her from receiving the produce of her own colonies. He ſtates the total gain of England upon theſe prohibitory operations to be 'the cauſing Frenchmen to drink their coffee ſome ſous a pound dearer, which is a moſt pitiful advantage to us; and creating inconvenience to America, which is no advantage at all:' when the real effect of making the ſugar and coffee of the enemy's colonies ſome ſous a pound dearer, is the inducing them to drink the ſugar and coffee of the Britiſh colonies circuitouſly re-exported, becauſe they can be purchaſed cheaper than thoſe of their own; and, notwithſtanding the authority of this writer, the encouragement of the Britiſh colonies, and the diſcouragement of the French colonies, will, in the general eſtimation, be conſidered as ſome gain, and even as no pitiful advantage, to Great Britain.

"If the Americans are prevented from importing the produce of the French colonies, the French will not, as this writer ſuppoſes, attempt to carry it in their own ſhips, for the very concluſive reaſon which he himſelf aſſigns, and which might have taught him better, 'that the Britiſh cruiſers will infallibly take them:' nor will it be purchaſed by Engliſh traders, and his apprehenſion be realized, 'that the national character will be compromiſed for gain;' ſuch traffic being both illegal and impracticable. His laſt ſuppoſition is correct, that 'if the produce of the French colonies is prevented from being exported, it muſt rot there;' remain, he ſhould have ſaid, for it is not in the nature of any Weſt India produce to rot by keeping. This meaſure would not involve the French colonies in that ruin which he ſo feelingly depicts; the conſequence would indeed be, that the planters, inſtead of raiſing produce to give in barter for proviſions, muſt raiſe proviſions inſtead of produce; and this is certainly more deſirable than that the Britiſh planter ſhould be reduced to the ſame neceſſity, which it appears, by one of the letters in the appendix to this pamphlet, muſt be the inevitable conſequence of the preſent ſyſtem.

"It ſurely would be a waſte of words to reply to the arguments which have been brought forward to prove that the colonies of the enemy are entitled to conſideration and indulgence, becauſe moſt of the proprietors reſide in the mother countries: as it would be to combat the aſſumption, that 'Great Britain cannot intend to prevent the colonial agents from ſending any of their revenue to the proprietors, or to intercept it on the way, as this would be a kind of warfare quite contrary to the ſpirit of modern cuſtoms.' Let Buonaparte anſwer, whether the cutting off the reſources of the enemy, either by prohibitory decrees againſt his colonial produce and manufactures, or by ſeizing and confiſcating his property wherever it can be found, be a kind of warfare quite contrary to the ſpirit of modern cuſtoms.

"We are told, 'that we injure the enemy ſufficiently by forcing neutrals to carry his produce round by their own ports, inſtead of allowing it to be tranſported directly from the colony to the mother country:' when the fact is, as the documents annexed to this pamphlet prove, that his produce is ſo tranſported from 8s. 11d. to 12s. 6d. per cwt. cheaper than the produce of the Britiſh colonies can be carried to the ſame markets to enter into competition with it*.

"* Vide Appendix A."

"We are told, alſo, that 'the neutral flag can by no means cover the enemy from the effects of our maritime ſuperiority;' or, in other words, that a cover is no cover: for as this writer very juſtly remarks, the carriage of Weſt India produce is not on account of merchants, who are to ſell it again after having bought it in the colonies, but on account of abſent landholders, who have no other way of receiving their rents, but by having the produce of their eſtates brought over to them.

"We are deſired to believe, 'that the advantages which the enemy derives from the aſſiſtance of neutrals, in carrying on his colonial remittances, and all the other branches of his diſtant commerce, are by no means unmixed with ſerious injuries to his proſperity;' when by this very aſſiſtance of neutrals his colonies are flouriſhing, from the comparative cheap rates of freight and inſurance at which their produce is brought to Europe, and the Britiſh colonies are declining from the heavy war charges to which their produce is at the ſame time ſubjected.

"What admirable arguments are given in favour of continuing this privilege to the enemy! only that they are unfortunately miſapplied, and ſhould have been urged againſt the ſyſtem of permitting neutral ſhips, under licenſes, to carry on that trade which ought to be confined to Britiſh ſhips. 'While neutral ſhips and ſeamen alone are employed in carrying on the commerce of France,' (for France read Britain) 'her only nurſery of maritime power is deſtroyed, ſhe loſes her whole chance of gaining a navy, ſhe can neither procure a ſtock of merchant veſſels, nor breed a race of ſeamen to man her ſhips of war.' This is a true picture of the ſtate to which Great Britain is rapidly advancing. Let her rulers contemplate it ſeriouſly, and avert the impending danger.

"It is aſſerted, that 'the deſtruction of an enemy's trade is not to be deſired, in order to annihilate his national wealth; that by the individual proſperity of his ſubjects we ourſelves gain; by their progreſs in riches we improve our own.' Is wealth then no longer the ſinews of war, that we are thus recommended to furniſh markets for the ſtaple commodities and produce of the enemy? He has himſelf taught us a leſſon of better policy, by excluding our manufactures and produce from every part of his dominions.

"Repeated admonitions are given againſt any meaſures that may be injurious to the property of individuals. It is aſſerted, that 'we ought to be at war with the government of France alone, but ſhould have no ſpite againſt unoffending and peaceable inhabitants;' as if, making the inhabitants feel the privations and hardſhips of war, was not the moſt likely way to bring the government to reaſon; or as if the relieving them from all the inconveniences of a ſtate of warfare tended to make them more deſirous of peace.

"Is it not an inſult to the underſtanding of his readers, that this writer ſhould repreſent America as 'a ſtate, where no undue bias, either towards ſchemes of ambition, or meaſures of ſubmiſſion to the common enemy has ever been ſhewn? A ſtate where ſo many circumſtances concur to eſtabliſh the influence of Engliſh principles and connections, where the other powers of the continent, without having any ground for alarm, may always expect to find aſſiſtance, as ſoon as its means are commenſurate with its inclinations.' Can we ſo ſoon have forgotten, that for four years together, during the late war, France captured and condemned American

veſſels together with their cargoes, and that no ſuch quick ſpirit of reſentment was manifeſted towards France, for this long continued ſeries of outrages, as was ſhewn towards Great Britain, for aſſerting her juſt rights? Under the awards of the commiſſioners nominated between the two countries, Great Britain paid America, principal and intereſt, coſts and damages to the very utmoſt farthing, for what ſhe had been pleaſed to term our ſpoliations on her commerce. France made her a nominal if not an adequate compenſation, of two millions of dollars, in the purchaſe of Louiſiana, which ſhe accepted in full of all demands; and from Spain, who had committed ſimilar acts of aggreſſion on her commerce, ſhe obtained nothing. From the conduct of America to theſe different powers, her ſyſtem of policy may be thoroughly underſtood. She remonſtrates, ſhe threatens, ſhe exhauſts all the arts of diplomacy; but if theſe fail, ſhe rather 'adopts meaſures of ſubmiſſion to the common enemy,' than reſorts to acts of hoſtility. She has given us ſtill more recent means of aſcertaining how 'far the influence of Engliſh principles and connections' predominates in her councils. On ſome new alledged provocations on the part of Great Britain, ſhe, laſt year, prefaced her negociation for redreſs, with a non-importation agreement; and, in defiance of a ſolemn treaty*, honeſtly diſcuſſed in her legiſlature, a motion for the confiſcation of Britiſh debts.

"On ſome new principle of calculation, this writer lays it down as an axiom, 'which no words are required to prove,' that 'the blanks occaſioned by ſome ſailors leaving our ſervice will ſpeedily be filled up; and that the number of Britiſh ſeamen, at the end of a given period, will be greater, in conſequence of our breeding for the American navy, juſt as the number of our people is on the whole augmented by the demand for men which our colonies create.' One might be tempted to aſk this ingenious gentleman, in what ſchool he ſtudied arithmetic, to have learned that the more are taken away from any given number, the more will remain.

"At length, he admits that 'we may feel ſome inconvenience in the mean time from the progreſs of the enemy's commerce,' (which we were before told it was our intereſt to promote,) 'and the deſertion of our ſeamen to neutral powers,' (which we were alſo told would increaſe their number.) 'But our general policy,' he adds, 'can never ſurely be modelled according to ſuch temporary conſiderations.' That theſe conſiderations are both permanent and paramount, that the policy of Great Britain was modelled with due regard to them in the proudeſt days of her glory, and that her exiſtence as an independent nation depends upon her due regard to the continuance of them, are propoſitions much leſs diſputable than thoſe which he advances.

"* Neither the debts due from the one nation to the individuals of the other, nor ſhares, nor monies, which they may have in the public funds, or in the public and private banks, ſhall ever, in any event of war, or national differences, be ſequeſtered or confiſcated; it being unjuſt and impolitic, that debts and engagements contracted and made by individuals having confidence in each other, and in their reſpective governments, ſhould ever be deſtroyed or impaired by national authority, on account of national differences and diſcontent.

"Vide treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his Britannic Majeſty and the U. S. of America, dated Nov. 19, 1794, art. 10."

"But he concludes by ſaying, 'that the evils or difficulties in queſtion are the neceſſary conſequences of the long war in which we have been engaged. They are part of that ſucceſſion, which the new adminiſtration have fallen heirs to; a ſucceſſion made up of all the dangers and difficulties, which a long courſe of miſmanagement and misfortune has accumulated upon the country.' Thus, what has been ſo long vindicated as ſound policy, is now admitted to be made up of evils, difficulties, and dangers; and to be the reſult of miſmanagement and misfortune. The truth is come out at laſt!

"Sufficient ſpecimens have been given to ſhew, that this writer has uſed all that empty declamation, affected philanthropy, and modern ſophiſtry, which might have been expected in his work, had it been written under the direction of Buonaparte himſelf, in ſupport of thoſe principles which it is his intereſt to eſtabliſh. What, but the ſtrangeſt perverſion of talent, or the groſſeſt infatuation, could induce an Engliſhman to maintain, that while the manufactures and colonial produce of Britain are interdicted by the enemy wherever his arms or influence extends, ſhe ſhould in return give unbounded encouragement to his manufactures and colonial produce, by permitting their tranſport in neutral veſſels to every quarter of the globe? Unleſs we fight him with equal arms, what ſucceſs can we hope for in the conteſt? Every event that adds to his enormous power by land, is a new call on us to counterbalance it, by making him feel the weight of our omnipotence by ſea."

Lord Grenville, however, it muſt be admitted, diſplayed much more *magnanimity* than he has evinced of late, in rewarding a man who had charged the Adminiſtration of which his Lordſhip formed a part, with leaving "a ſucceſſion made up of all the dangers and difficulties, which a *long courſe of miſmanagement* and misfortune has accumulated upon the country!" Our author from theſe premiſes, very naturally, draws the following juſt concluſions.

"Either the old maritime ſyſtem muſt be reverted to, or the new ſyſtem be carried one ſtep farther: and Great Britain muſt requeſt that America will have the complaiſance to carry on the future commerce of her colonies, as ſhe now does that of her enemies, in order that both may be placed on the ſame footing, and enjoy the ſame advantages, of receiving their ſupplies, and tranſporting their produce to Europe, at peace freights and peace premiums of inſurance.

"But even were Great Britain diſpoſed thus tamely to ſurrender the trident of the ocean, which ſhe now may defy the united powers of the univerſe to ſnatch from her graſp, France has declared that the neutrality under which ſhe herſelf finds ſhelter, ſhall afford none to Great Britain *. She has declared that not only Britiſh manufactures and colonial produce are lawful prize, but that even neutral property bound to or from Great Britain, like a criminal taken in *flagrante delicto*, ſhall be condemned. She has

"* The arret of 1 Meſſidor, or June 19, 1803, directs, that the French conſul at the neutral port, or the officer there appointed, ſhall certify the origin of the colonial produce reſhipped to France, to guard againſt the admiſſion of Britiſh colonial produce under the American flag.—Suite du Code des Douanes, page 173."

indeed ſuſpended the execution of this latter decree in favour of America; the expediency of ſo doing probably having been whiſpered to her ruler by ſome of his more prudent counſellors, leſt Great Britain ſhould be provoked to retaliate: but in Hamburgh it was rigidly enforced, when he became maſter of that unhappy city. Is he then to take juſt ſo much of the law of nations as ſuits his purpoſe? Is he to reſpect it by ſea and violate it by land, and is Great Britain to be governed by his imperial mandate? Unleſs ſhe means to reſign her high rank in the ſcale of nations, ſhe muſt either adopt a ſyſtem of retaliation, or revert to firſt principles."

If we have not recourſe to this plain and obvious principle of *ſelf-preſervation*, we ſhall richly deſerve the worſt fall that can befall us. In the concluding part of his pamphlet, the author takes a brief, but ſatisfactory, view of the conſequences of a war with America, ſhould ſhe be mad enough to go to war in ſupport of claims, founded only on uſurpation and injuſtice. He firſt, however, ſhews that ſhe has *abuſed* the indulgence which we extended to her.

"The extent to which theſe conceſſions are abuſed may be deduced from American documents. It certainly never was the intention of Great Britain to admit the principle that free bottoms make free goods. Her utmoſt intention muſt have been to permit America to receive produce from the colonies of the enemy, in return for the proviſions and lumber with which ſhe furniſhed them. Whether ſhe has confined herſelf within theſe limits, will be aſcertained by comparing the foreign and domeſtic exports of her three great maritime ſtates, Maſſachuſetts, New York, and Pennſylvania. Their foreign exports being the ſurplus of the produce from the colonies of the enemy, after ſupplying the conſumption of America, (which may fairly be conſidered as an equivalent for the value of the European and Indian goods, exported to thoſe colonies) amounted, in 1806, to 42,096,705 dollars. The total of their domeſtic exports for the ſame year, which are their means of purchaſing, amounted to 18,440,090 dollars*. What proportion of this domeſtic produce was exported to the Britiſh colonies for their ſupplies; what proportion was exported to Great Britain in payment for goods †, or to the various other countries of Europe, theſe documents do not diſtinguiſh; but they ſufficiently prove how vaſt a proportion of the produce of the enemies' colonies is ſhipped, not on American account in return for ſupplies, but on account of the planters under the maſk of American neutrality.

"Mercantile men will not be impoſed upon by the fallacious idea, that America, in carrying on this commerce, does but labour for Great Britain; and that all the returns for this produce are made in Britiſh manufactures. They know, that American ſhips which carry theſe cargoes to the ports of the enemy, find it cheaper, when there, to take their returns in

"* Vide Appendix B."

"† More than half the domeſtic exports of the United States are made to Great Britain in payment for goods, the proportion being, by the lateſt account received, (that of 1805,) 20,653,000 dollars, out of 39,928,000 dollars."

the goods of thoſe countries, than to make a ſecond voyage to procure goods in Great Britain: and that this conſideration, joined with the partiality which the coloniſts of every nation have for the productions of their mother countries, induces the Americans to increaſe their importation, not of Britiſh but of foreign manufactures *, as well for their own conſumption, as for the ſupply of the colonies of the enemy."

The author adviſes, by way of remedy for the evils of conceſſion, that America ſhould not be allowed to re-export any colonial produce to Europe. And he ſhews, that a clauſe to this effect was prepared by Mr. Pitt, and acceded to by Mr. Jay, in the treaty between this country and America negociated in 1794. As ſo much was ſaid, in both Houſes, during the exiſtence of the late Parliament, of the loſſes which Great Britain would ſuſtain from a war with America, it will be right to ſhew what loſſes would accrue to America herſelf from ſuch a conteſt.

"The only advantage America could poſſibly gain from the conteſt, would be the eſtabliſhment of her right to carry the produce of the enemy's colonies, and the conſequent extenſion of her commerce, whenever the European powers might be at war. This commerce, conſidered as a ſource of revenue, is of very little value to her; for, as the commodities draw back the whole duty on exportation, it leaves nothing to the State but the trifling tonnage-duty on the ſhips employed in it. It is underſtood, however, that our late miniſters ſtipulated in their treaty, that America ſhould in future make this commerce a ſubject of taxation, thus acknowledging and pointing out the value of what they had conceded, and America had acquired. They wiſhed, too, to pacify the Britiſh planter, by this ingenious device of contriving to lay a tax on the ſugars of the foreign planter, the amount of which was to fill the treaſury of a foreign power: and infinite addreſs was diſplayed on one ſide, and infinite delicacy affected on the other, in ſettling the quantum to be impoſed; the negociators on the part of America contending, that they could not, in conſcience, charge more than 1 per cent. and the negociators on the part of Great Britain urging them to charge 2 per cent. This flimſy expedient was held out as a compenſation to the Britiſh planter, for the advantage of 25 per cent. given the fo-

"* Now that the unfortunate rage for ſhipping goods to Buenos Ayres has ſubſided, and the Britiſh manufacturers have leiſure to look into their general concerns, they complain, and with great reaſon, that their orders, both for America and the Weſt Indies, are diminiſhed; the Americans not only ſupplying the conſumption of their own country, and that of the enemies' colonies, but that of the Britiſh colonies too, (by illicit trade) with foreign European and Eaſt India manufactures of various deſcriptions. Official documents tranſmitted to the Eaſt India Houſe, ſhew that the exports from Madras, in American ſhips, have lately been double the amount of thoſe in Britiſh ſhips. Thus, Great Britain maintains poſſeſſions at an enormous expence, from which another power derives greater commercial advantages than the herſelf does.—'Sic vos non vobis,' is here exemplified with a vengeance! But to do juſtice to this ſubject, would require a volume rather than a note."

reign planter, in the permiſſion to tranſport his ſugar to Europe in neutral veſſels. This is no exaggerated eſtimate; for the value of the ſugars may fairly be taken at 40s. per cwt. and the medium between 8s. 11d. and 12s. 6d. the difference between neutral and Britiſh freight and inſurance, is more than one-quarter of the whole, or 25 per cent. But, to return from this digreſſion.—The increaſe in her number of ſeamen, with a view to the ſupport of her navy, that paramount conſideration with Great Britain, is no object to America, whoſe navy is ſo inconſiderable. Conſidering this commerce as a ſource of profit to individuals, the benefit ariſing from it is confined to the mercantile houſes and the ſhip-owners in ſeven or eight of her principal ports; and it is not very probable, that, for their emolument, the government of the United States would entail all thoſe miſchiefs upon the reſt of the community, which would inevitably follow a war with Great Britain.

"In enumerating theſe miſchiefs, the annihilation not only of the commerce contended for, but of every other branch of her preſent extenſive commerce, may be firſt ſtated. The diſtreſs of her landholders; whoſe tobacco, rice, indigo, cotton, grain, lumber, and produce of all kinds, would be rendered of little or no value, by the impoſſibility of ſending them to foreign markets. The privation, or advance in price, of every article of neceſſity, or comfort, which ſhe now imports from other countries. The loſs of more than nine-tenths of her revenue, which is derived from duties on her imports, and the conſequent neceſſity of raiſing a new and increaſed revenue from a people deprived of their accuſtomed reſources. And, laſtly, the inteſtine diviſions which would, in all probability, ariſe between the Northern and the Southern States, the inhabitants of which already have no great cordiality for each other; and the latter of whom would bear the principal burden of this conteſt, without having any intereſt whatever in the object for which it was carried on: diviſions which might probably haſten that ſeparation between them, which, in the nature of things, may ſoon be expected to take place.

"With ſuch powerful conſiderations to deter America from engaging in a war with Great Britain, is it probable that ſhe would hazard a meaſure by which ſo little could be gained, and ſo much would be loſt? We have the authority of Mr. Randolph, an enlightened member of her Houſe of Repreſentatives, for ſaying poſitively that ſhe would not. But, without relying altogether upon his opinion, and to be armed againſt the worſt, let us now weigh, in their turn, the advantages and diſadvantages that would reſult to Great Britain from hoſtilities with America."

The reſult of this laſt enquiry is, that Britain would loſe much leſs by ſuch a war, than by a continued perſeverance in the prevailing ſyſtem of conceſſions. The author cloſes his examination with a manly appeal to the good ſenſe of the preſent Miniſtry.

"From theſe obſervations it may fairly be inferred, that the effect of the late conceſſions to America, and the abuſe which ſhe has made of them, are ſo injurious to Great Britain, that a longer continuance of them on her part is inconſiſtent with the firſt principles of ſelf-defence and ſelf-preſervation; that neither conſiderations of right, nor of intereſt, will warrant America in reſenting the retraction of theſe conceſſions; and that even her

hoſtility is far leſs formidable than ſuch neutrality as ſhe at preſent exerciſes.

"Theſe truths have, it is to be hoped, been fully impreſſed on the minds of his Majeſty's preſent Miniſters, by their own reflections on this important ſubject. The object of theſe pages is to impreſs them more generally on the minds of the public, Whether his Majeſty's late Miniſters, from natural timidity, were afraid to open their eyes to a full view of the conſequences of a rupture with America, and, like children, fancied themſelves in danger merely becauſe they were in darkneſs; whether they were influenced by the intereſted counſels of ſome of their adviſers, whoſe families have eſtabliſhments both in America and in Holland, and on whom wealth is pouring in through various channels, by this ſpurious and deſtructive commerce; or whether, actuated by a laudable ſpirit of conciliation, they acquieſced in theſe conceſſions as meaſures of experiment, they beſt know. This good conſequence, however, will reſult from their conduct, that Great Britain, in now adopting ſuch a change in her political relations with the United States of America as circumſtances render both adviſable and neceſſary, cannot be accuſed of acting haſtily or intemperately; and, with this reflection, ſhe muſt conſole herſelf for the ſacrifices ſhe has already made. Thoſe ſteps which might, perhaps, have been conſidered raſh and premature in the late Miniſters, cannot be ſo conſidered in their ſucceſſors, and are conſiſtent with the principles which they uniformly profeſſed before they came into office. The general ſenſe of the nation will ſupport them in this change of ſyſtem, the neceſſity of which is now apparent. The proſperity of the ſhipping intereſt more particularly depends upon the welfare of the colonies, and a ſtrict adherence to the navigation laws. Foreign ſhip-owners have now the ſame advantage over Britiſh ſhip-owners, from the facility with which licenſes are granted, as foreign planters have over Britiſh planters; and as the foreign colonies are flouriſhing, and the Britiſh colonies declining, ſo foreign ſhipping is increaſing, and Britiſh ſhipping decreaſing, from the impolitic encouragement given to the former, at the expence of the latter*. Ships, colonies, and commerce, are inſeparably connected, and juſtly appreciated by Buonaparte, who, for once in his life, ſpoke with ſincerity as well as wiſdom, when he declared they were all he wanted. Great Britain, who poſſeſſes them, appears not to know their value. Let her adopt different councils, or ſhe will repent her error when it is too late. He covets them as the means of gratifying his inſatiable ambition; ſhe ſhould cheriſh them as the ſole barrier againſt that ambition, and the beſt bulwark of her independence. The repreſentatives of many of the commercial towns and cities have, it is underſtood, at the requeſt of their conſtituents, the ſhip-owners, pledged themſelves to ſupport a recurrence to the old navigation-ſyſtem; the greateſt encroachments on which, are the conceſſions made to America. The baneful conſequences of thoſe conceſſions have now been proved by experience, and the retraction of them has become a meaſure of imperious neceſſity. Enough has been ſtated to convince unprejudiced minds of the truth of theſe poſitions; and with thoſe who are governed by intereſt, or who never recant an error, all efforts are unavailing. Men who refuſe their aſſent to plain facts and incontrovertible deductions, are not open to any means of conviction:—'If

"* Vide Appendix E."

they hear not Moſes and the prophets, neither will they be perſuaded though one roſe from the dead.'"

Several documents are given in the Appendix, in confirmation of the ſtatements advanced in the tract. The author is evidently a man of ſenſe and information; is perfect maſter of his ſubject; and has diſcuſſed it with that mixture of temperance and firmneſs which its importance required.

An Eſſay on Tranſparent Prints, and on Tranſparencies in general. By Edward Orme. Folio, pp. 68. Twenty plates, coloured and plain. 2l 2s. Sold by the Author, New Bond Street. 1807.

THE fine arts are not a little indebted to the ſkill and genius of Mr. Orme, for the encouragement which they have experienced in this country of late years; and his invention of *Tranſparent Prints* has added another wreath to thoſe with which the applauſe of his countrymen had already encircled his brow. In this ſplendid work, on which no labour or expence has been ſpared, the author explains, not only theoretically, but practically, his method of making tranſparencies of prints and drawings, which he himſelf firſt diſcovered by accident: ſo that the pupil, by reading this Eſſay, may become as wiſe as his maſter. Receipts are given for making the different kinds of colours and varniſhes neceſſary to be uſed in the exerciſe of this ingenious and elegant art; and the work is accompanied with a number of highly finiſhed and appropriate prints, ſome of which are prepared for tranſparencies, in order that the effect may be the better obſerved. The whole work is highly creditable to the taſte and talents of the author, who, we hope, will derive from his performance all the advantage which his merit entitles him to, and which, from the high patronage with which he appears to be honoured, he has every right to expect.

The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, &c. By John Britton. Part vii. with ſeven prints, 4to, pp. vii. 10s 6d. Longman and Co. 1807.

The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, &c. By John Britton, F.S.A. Part viii, with nine prints, 4to, pp. 30. 1807.

THE firſt of theſe parts contains the concluſion of Mr. Britton's intereſting account of the ancient Abbey Church of Malmſbury, beſides an account of Colcheſter Caſtle, and a deſcription of a curious door way to the church at South Ockenden, in the county of Eſſex. No leſs than ten plates have been devoted to a diſplay of the architectural beauties of Malmſbury Church, ſo that the antiquarian is ſupplied with a rich treat, and with ample food

for reflection and for ſtudy. Mr. Britton opens his hiſtorical and deſcriptive eſſay on Colcheſter Caſtle with the following obſervations.

"The hiſtory of caſtles involves a ſevere ſatire on the propenſities and purſuits of man; for the *former* had never been neceſſary but from the rapacity and unbridled tyranny of the vicious part of the *latter**. In all ages of the world, the horrid and ſavage ſyſtem of warfare appears to have been ſtudied and encouraged: and though many perſons were compelled to (ſtudy) it from rational motives of ſelf-defence, yet the great majority ſeems to have indulged in it *con amore*. If literature has one paramount duty, it is to reprobate (in the preſent enlightened age) the inhuman practice of ſlaughtering men by thouſands †, and to admoniſh the governors of nations to cultivate the benign bleſſings of peace, and the amenities of ſocial life. The caſtle in ruins is a pleaſing object to the eye of an artiſt, but the ſtrongly fortified caſtle muſt excite painful emotions in the mind of the philoſopher. From the ſettlement of the Romans in Great Britain, about A.D. 44, to the end of the reign of Henry the Eighth, embracing a ſpace of about fifteen hundred years, the annals of this country are replete with narratives of ſlaughter; either internal diſſentions, or foreign wars, made every adult a ſoldier, and kept him in almoſt conſtant employ; and as victory was then the only road to fame and fortune, the profeſſion was ſtudied by the young, and praiſed by the aged. Caſtles were then neceſſarily erected in almoſt every part of the country, and were varied in ſize, ſhape, character, and ſituation, according to the age when (in which) they were raiſed, or the ſkill and power of the architect or (and) proprietor."

Every one muſt lament, with Mr. Britton, over the monuments of human rapacity, and the records of human tyranny. But theſe preſent nothing more to the mind than the clear and gradual progreſs of ſtates from barbariſm to refinement; not peculiar to one, but common to all. From the contemplation of ſuch objects the true philoſopher will derive much ſolid, much uſeful inſtruction. It will lead him to trace with 'his mind's eye' the pro-

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* This ſentence is not perfectly clear, nor yet accurately conſtructed. The word *former* can apply only, with propriety, to *The Hiſtory of Caſtles*, whereas, the author means to apply it to the *Caſtles* themſelves, and not to their hiſtory. The word *latter*, too, applies properly to *the propenſities and purſuits of man*, and not to *man* himſelf, as the author intends it ſhould. Again; it is not correct to ſay, the r pacity and tyranny of the vicious part of *man*: when we talk of *part of man*, we ſpeak of the *body* and not of the *mind*. By ſubſtituting *mankind* for *man*, this inaccuracy would be removed.

† ——————"*One* murder makes a villain,
Millions, a hero. Princes are privileged
To kill, and numbers ſanctify the crime."
Death, a Poem, by Porteus, Biſhop of London.

greſſive advancement of man, from the firſt ſtage of ſociety, removed as little as his wants would allow, or his deſtination admit, from a ſtate of nature, through all the intermediate ſtages, to the high point of civilization at which he now beholds him. He will obſerve his faculties gradually unfolding themſelves, diſplaying a wider comprehenſion, and a greater vigour, as new occaſions for exertion ariſe. He will find him adapting his intellectual and corporeal endowments to the neceſſities of his nature, increaſing with his means of enjoyment. If ſurrounded by more powerful neighbours, and ſubject to inceſſant attacks, the ſtrongeſt principle of his being, ſelf-preſervation, renders him a ſoldier. He ſoon becomes an adept in the ſcience of defence, and having firſt adopted a military life from compulſion, he afterwards purſues it from choice. Out of this ſtate of things the feudal ſyſtem, with its caſtles, its vaſſals, its courts, and its tenures, was produced; partaking neceſſarily of the barbariſm of the times in which it had birth, but having in it the ſeeds and the principles of civilization. We may, nay we ought to, deplore the evils of war; but ſo long as human nature ſhall remain what it is, the ſource of our lamentation will not ceaſe to exiſt. It is moſt deplorable, however, that, at this advanced ſtage of civilization and refinement, there ſhould be a nation, ſo rapidly receding towards the rude barbariſm of former times, as to make "every adult a ſoldier, and to keep him in almoſt conſtant employ." And that a nation, too, who made the ſuperiority of her civilization and refinement the conſtant ſubject of her boaſt.

Mr. Britton has given two very good views of Colcheſter Caſtle, taken on different ſides of the building, beſides one internal view of the ſtair-caſe; and the Eſſay gives a copious and ſatisfactory deſcription of the whole.

The *Eighth Part* of theſe Antiquities contains a title-page, index, and liſt of plates to the firſt volume, now complete; an account of the ſcreen in Edward the Confeſſor's Chapel, in Weſtminſter Abbey; a deſcription of plans of the Queen's Croſs in Northamptonſhire, with obſervations on croſſes, by Mr. C. Clarke; an account of a round church at Little Mapleſted, in Eſſex; and an eſſay on round churches, by Mr. C. Clarke. This laſt eſſay is diſtinguiſhed by much ingenious and ſenſible obſervation; which proves the author to have deeply inveſtigated his ſubject, and to poſſeſs information and knowledge to enable him to form a right judgment of it.

In his "prefatory advertiſement" Mr. Britton returns thanks to all thoſe from whoſe communications he has derived aſſiſtance; and he expreſſes his hope of being able to complete his work in three more volumes. He certainly muſt be the beſt judge of the extent or quantity of his materials; but we ſhould think that he will be ſcarcely able to accompliſh his original

purpoſe in ſo ſmall a compaſs. That he will receive all the farther aid which he ſolicits we cannot allow ourſelves to doubt; and he ſo richly deſerves the patronage and protection of the public, that he may reckon on their continuance without the ſmalleſt danger of ſelf-deception.

POETRY.

Anthologia. A Collection of Epigrams, ludicrous Epitaphs, Sonnets, Tales, Miſcellaneous Anecdotes, &c. &c. interſperſed with Originals. 12mo. Pp. 184. 4s. Highley, 1807.

THAT taſte muſt be faſtidious indeed which cannot find gratification in ſome part or other of this amuſing medley. Though it preſents us with many *old friends*, it introduces us alſo to ſeveral *new acquaintance*. The ſelection is made with judgment, and ſome of the original pieces are pleaſing and pretty. But in our notice of ſuch productions a few lines of extract are worth whole pages of comment.

"ITALIAN PUN.—When General Wurmſer had compelled the French to evacuate Verona, and raiſe the ſiege of Mantua, the Italians, rejoiced at his ſucceſſes, received the French every where with execration and inſult. Paſquin and Marforio contributed their ſhare to the general contempt; on the ſtatue of Marforio was written, '*Si dice che i Franceſi ſono tutti ladroni*,' 'They ſay the French are all raſcals.' To which Paſquin replies: '*Non tutti, ma Buona-parte*' 'No, not all, but the greater part.' The latter word, in Italian, meaning a great many, as well as being the name of the French general."

"BON MOT OF LORD ERSKINE.—SPENCER PERCEVAL coming into the Court of King's Bench later than uſual, the bar was rather crowded; a barriſter obſerved to Erſkine, 'We muſt make room, here's a gentleman of the *long robe* coming.' 'No,' replied Erſkine, 'he is only a *Spencer* of the law.'"

"TU DOCES.—Theſe words were inſcribed by Harry Erſkine to his tea-cheſt, and make a neat pun, when tranſlated literally, being the ſecond perſon ſingular of the verb *doceo*, to teach; viz. thou *teacheſt*."

"King William the Third, on his acceſſion to the throne of England, inſerted under his arms, 'NON RAPUI, SED RECEPI,' which being ſhewn to Dean Swift, he ſarcaſtically ſaid, 'The receiver's as bad as the thief.'"

"SENATORIAL IRISHISMS.—In a debate on the leather tax in 1795, the Chancellor of the Iriſh Exchequer, Sir J. Parnell, obſerved, that in the proſecution of the preſent war, 'every man ſhould give his *laſt* guinea to ſave the *remainder*;' Mr. Vandeleur ſaid, that 'however that might be, the tax on leather would be ſeverely *felt by the bare-footed peaſantry of*

Ireland;' to which Sir Boyle Roach, in ſupport of the tax, ſuggeſted, that 'it might be eaſily remedied by making the *under leathers* of wood.'"

"MODERN INCREDULITY.

"What legions of fables and whimſical tales
Paſs current for goſpel, where prieſtcraft prevails!
Our anceſtors thus were moſt ſtrangely deceiv'd,
What ſtories of goblins for truth they receiv'd!
But we, their wiſe ſons, who theſe fables reject,
E'en truth now-a days are apt to ſuſpect:
From believing too much, the right faith we let fall,
So now we believe, faith—juſt nothing at all."

Theſe are fair ſpecimens: if the reader like them, he may ſafely purchaſe the book.

All the Blocks! or, an Antidote to 'All the Talents'. A Satirical Poem. In three Dialogues. By Flagellum. 8vo. Pp. 96. 3s 6d. Matthews and Leigh. 1807.

ALL the verſe-writers, in the ſervice of Oppoſition, ſeem to think that the ſatire entitled "All the Talents," has derived its celebrity ſolely from its merit as a poem, and thence conclude, that if they themſelves can write as good verſe, their productions will certainly acquire equal circulation, and equal fame. But they ought to have learnt ere this, that the real fact is, that the *feelings* of the country went along with the ſatiriſt in queſtion, and that to this circumſtance is the ſucceſs of his poem to be principally aſcribed, a fact of which he is himſelf perfectly ſenſible.

Flagellum, however, ventures to make the following profeſſion in his dedication:

"As truth is uniformly the beſt criterion to enſure ſucceſs, I ſhall have recourſe to that moſt ſterling ingredient in order to *validate* my poſition, which goes to prove that you were juſtly entitled to the appellation of THE TALENTS, which has been moſt invidiouſly applied to you by Polypus as a term of ridicule."

Paſſing over the new-coined word, *validate*, we wiſh to aſk the author if he admit truth to be the beaſt means of enſuring ſucceſs, which, we ſuppoſe, is his meaning, how it happened that it did not occur to him that it was the very means by which Polypus enſured ſucceſs? Waving, however, the obvious inference to be drawn from his unguarded admiſſion, we will proceed to try him by his own ſtandard, and to ſhew how far he has adhered to his profeſſion of obſerving truth. But we have a few previous obſervations to make on his preliminary matter. As the firſt proof which he exhibits of the validity of the title of late Miniſters, aſſumed for them by their partiſans, Flagellum obſerves, that "it has been uniformly allowed, that peace is the ſureſt bulwark of a country, and the firſt operations of your adminiſtration were of a pacific nature." If he will take the trouble of referring to the page of hiſtory, he will find that "All the Talents" have themſelves confuted this notable poſition of his. In the firſt place, all the Foxites of the late adminiſtration reprobated the peace of 1783, and ſucceeded in turning out Lord Shelburne and Mr. Pitt, for having

made it; and fecondly, all the Grenvillites reprobated the peace of Amiens, and would have turned out, if they could, the Addingtonian adminiſtration, by which it was concluded. So that "All the Talents" have, in this inſtance, given the lie to their eulogiſt.

Their next merit is, the *Abolition of the Slave Trade*, which may perchance prove to be the deſtruction of our colonies; and is actually a raſh experiment, wholly unproductive of advantage to the objects whoſe intereſts it was intended to promote. We are then told of what all the Talents *intended* to do. They intended, we are aſſured, to *re organize* the debtor and creditor laws; but as this was a project in embryo, it would be preſumption to decide either on its merits or its demerits. The liſt of merits is, indeed, brief, and our readers probably will think it would have been more to the purpoſe, if Flagellum had attempted to *juſtify* the late Miniſters from the various charges which have been preferred againſt them, not only for what they did, but for what they omitted to do. But it would have required a little more ſagacity and a little more ingenuity than he poſſeſſes to accompliſh ſo difficult a taſk.—We ſhall now exhibit ſome marks of this writer's attention to *truth*. In his preface he ſays, "It is the exiſting *tag rag* adminiſtration (which) I ſeek to unmaſk, and give to the world in all its native deformity a miniſtry, which, without one little emanation of the talents of a Pitt, adopts the moſt faulty points of his adminiſtration as its fixed rule of action. For it is now we are to expect *conſummate policy* from a combination of Blocks; a vigorous plan of hoſtilities (for the war-whoop muſt ſound *ad infinitum*) without energetic capacities; the levy of taxes diveſted of all attention to the exiſting burdens impoſed on the people; in ſhort, the trite ſtory of treaſons and traitors muſt now reſound to rob us of our birth-right. May heaven grant that the ſhepherd proves not the traitor, by opening the wicket to the rav'ning wolf, and thus expoſing the fold to inevitable deſtruction."

Have Mr. Canning, Mr. Perceval, Lord Caſtlereagh, and Lord Hawkeſbury, not "one little emanation of the talents of a Pitt?" Mr. Pitt himſelf, 'tis known, thought otherwiſe; and ſo thinks every one elſe, we believe, but all the Talents and their poetaſters. If this gentleman had pointed out *what* were the *moſt faulty points* in Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, which the preſent miniſters have adopted, as their *fixed rule of action*, the public would have been enabled to decide whether he ſpoke truth or falſehood. But how, unleſs by anticipation, he could diſcover their fixed rule of action, almoſt before they had begun to act, and certainly before they had avowed any other rule of action than the welfare and proſperity of the country, it is not eaſy to conjecture. And whence he drew his inference that the war-whoop muſt reſound *ad infinitum* under a miniſtry, many of whom were in power when the peace of Amiens was concluded, and were even accuſed of having wooed the embraces of peace with too much eagerneſs, it is equally difficult to imagine. The aſſertion, that we are to expect "the levy of taxes diveſted of all attention to the exiſting burdens of the people," is a direct falſehood; for it is notorious that the preſent miniſtry approved of Lord Henry Petty's plan of finance, ſo far as it related to the forbearance to impoſe any farther taxes for three years. In another note he tells us "we have loſt *all the Talents*, and in their ſtead have now *no Talents at all*." Theſe proofs of his regard to *truth*, would amply ſuffice to prove the ſincerity of his profeſſions, and

the degree of credit which is due to him. But diſguſtful as the taſk is, we will exhibit a few more of the ſame kind. Deſcribing the preſent miniſtry, he ſays, "in the Firſt Lord of the Treaſury we have a *ſtone maſon.*" The Duke of Portland is reviled in many other paſſages; the author either not knowing, or not chooſing to remember, that his Grace was once the head of the Whig party, when it contained an infinitely greater portion of reſpectability and talents, than the laſt miniſtry could boaſt of, though, with the exception of Lord Grenville, (who then oppoſed them,) and of Lord Henry Petty, (who was then at nurſe), it included all the profeſſed Whigs among them; and, at that time, theſe very men were as prodigal in their praiſes of his Grace as they are now of their invectives. "In the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a vender of ſapience, through the medium of wigs and gowns." Is not a lawyer as likely to underſtand finance as one who is no lawyer? But has not Mr. Perceval's education been as much a *political* as a *legal* education? No objections of this kind were ſtarted againſt Mr. Addington, to whom they would have applied with much greater ſtrength. As to Lord Henry Petty, he was the Prince of Financiers, although he had ſtudied neither law nor finance, but French metaphyſics under a Scotch profeſſor, by the aid of which he might, indeed, make clear things obſcure, but could not throw light upon any thing; could raiſe doubts upon all ſubjects, but could remove them from none. We proceed with Flagellum's liſt: "In the Firſt Lord of the Admiralty, the muſter-roll of rank and file." It is not very certain what he means by this; but his objection muſt be, that a military man is unfit (ipſo facto) to be at the head of the Admiralty; it is agreed, however, on all hands, that no man is ſo *unfit* as a naval officer. We have before had a general as the Firſt Lord of the Admiralty, and he was never objected to on that account; in the French ſervice all *admirals* are *generals;* and in our own, too, naval officers have military rank, when on ſervice: having ſaid this, we ſhall acknowledge that we would rather ſee Lord Mulgrave in a different ſituation; and indeed it is our fervent wiſh that Lord Melville may ſoon be *re*-placed at the head of the Admiralty, for which ſituation no man in the kingdom (Lord Barham, perhaps, only excepted,) is ſo well qualified. "In the Secretary for the Foreign Department, we have a very accommodating weathercock." Unfortunately for this advocate for *truth*, there is not a more conſiſtent political character than Mr. Canning; yet in another note he has the aſſurance to renew his abuſe of that gentleman. "The incapacity of this gentleman is by no means a poetical fiction, as he is poſſeſſed of none of thoſe requiſites ſo abſolutely eſſential to fit him for the ſtation in which the *Blocks* have thought proper to place him." We ſhould think that Lord Grenville would tell a different ſtory; allowing, as we do, that there never was a more able ſecretary of ſtate for the foreign department than his Lordſhip, while acting under the genial influence of his firſt patron, and ſupporting the manly principles which he *then* profeſſed, we ſhould be glad to learn in what better ſchool a gentleman deſtined for a ſimilar ſituation could poſſibly be placed, than in his Lordſhip's office. It is well known, that Mr. Canning was, for ſeveral years, Under-Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, over which Lord Grenville preſided; and if it be the characteriſtic of a weathercock to remain conſiſtent and firm in thoſe principles which he then and always profeſſed, while Lord Grenville has thought proper to change them, or, which is much the

ſame thing, to act as if he had changed them, then Flagellum tells truth; otherwiſe he ſpeaks the language of falſehood. As to the vulgar lie, that Mr. Canning does not underſtand French, none but the very *nightmen of Parnaſſus* would ſtoop to repeat it.

"In the Lord Chancellor," purſues this wretched poetaſter, "we have an old applewoman, always replete with croakings and ſapient ſaws."—This charge defies confutation, mocks all comment, and ſets the powers of reaſoning at defiance. On Lord Melville he pours out as much ſcurrility as he *dare*, though not quite ſo much as the Solicitor General to *all the Talents*; but it ſhould be remembered, in his favour, that the *former* has not the *privilege of Parliament*, and therefore we muſt take the will for the deed. With his uſual attention to veracity, Flagellum aſſerts, that Lord Melville poſitively affirmed, that Hardy, Tooke, and Co., were *guilty*, although they had been acquitted by a jury, and that he ſtill perſiſts in calling them *acquitted felons*. Lyars, 'tis ſaid, ſhould have good memories. Flagellum ought to have known, that it was a portion of *all the Talents*, and not Lord Melville, who characteriſed the worthy perſonages in queſtion as *acquitted felons*. Mr. Windham, we ſuſpect, finds himſelf ſtrangely ſituated, to be thus expoſed to abuſe from men who mean to panegyrize him, and attacked through the ſides of his enemies! "Lord Melville, when in office with Pitt, held three places at once; viz. Secretary of State, Preſident of the Board of Controul, and Treaſurer of the Navy." There is a lie under the ſemblance of truth. It is certainly true that Lord Melville did hold theſe three places at the ſame time; but it is utterly falſe, that this fact affords, as he inſinuates, a proof of his Lordſhip's *ravenous* ſpirit, for it is notorious that Lord Melville, though he diſcharged the *duties* of *three* places, received only the *ſalary* of *one*, and that he actually gave up to the public the ſum of *thirty-four thouſand pounds* that were due to him, for the ſalary of Secretary of State. And yet this nobleman is to be inceſſantly abuſed by the ſcribblers of the party for his rapacity, while the inſatiate family of the Grenvilles, gorged as they are, even to repletion, with the public money, are to be extolled, by the ſame *patriotic* writers, to the very ſkies! Curſe on ſuch mongrel patriots; they are a diſgrace to their country! Having thus exhibited ſufficient ſpecimens of the author's adherence to his own maxim, our readers will not be ſurprized at our requeſt to correct a trifling error in his preliminary obſervations, and in ſeveral other paſſages where the word occurs; and, inſtead of *truth* to read *falſehood*.

It will now only be neceſſary to adduce a few proofs of his *poetical* talents; but we muſt firſt notice one aſſertion, which, if any thing he ſays can be relied on, is worth attention.

"As I have ſo recently ſpoken of *all the Talents*, I beg leave to add, in addition to the reaſons alledged in my dedication, which went to prove that they were truly deſerving the title, that it was not only in *contemplation*, but abſolutely reſolved, that A TOTAL ABOLITION OF TYTHES ſhould immediately take place." We ſhall reſerve our comments on this reſolution of the late miniſtry, until we ſhall have aſcertained the fact. But we have no heſitation in ſaying, that if they had not reſolved to *aboliſh tythes*, as this ſcribbler aſſerts, but to *repeal the Teſt and Corporation Acts*, and to grant *Catholic Emancipation*, as they have themſelves more than in-

timated, ſince their diſmiſſion, they would moſt richly deſerve to be impeached. We ſhall now bring forward ſome beautiful illuſtrations of the poetical genius of this inſpired bard.

" —When I contemplate England's riſing fame
Committed to the care of blind and lame;
See ſick Britannia dwindled to a ghoſt,
Recalling radiant wiſdom, late her boaſt,
Where ſage experience learn'd her conſtitution,
Had prob'd her wounds—applied the ſame ablution."

" In Canning's praiſe Fame's clarion trump hath wrung,
But knows he, ſave his own, a living tongue?
A nation's ſpleen was ne'er before thus urg'd,
Or common ſenſe by Folly ſo much purg'd."

The poetical portrait of Mr. Perceval is drawn at too much length to be given entire; our readers muſt therefore be ſatisfied with the contemplation of one or two of its moſt beautiful features.

" As to thy ſcull-cap, it is nought but rags;
But for the pockets, zounds and death! they're bags:
With ſeams all double-ſtitch'd, that no ill fate
May rend 'em open, gorg'd with golden weight.
As to the caſſock, it is all a *hum;*
Some wag hath rent it off above the bum,
Leaving expos'd to public view thy breech,
That boys may give grave honour's throne a twitch.
To keep compunction from thy ſoul aloof,
It muſt be own'd thy veſt is bullet-proof:
As to thy front, with kiſſing friend D-nd-as,
'Tis doubly plated o'er with poliſh'd braſs:
And for thy brain-pan, 'tis as amply ſtow'd
For ſtate affairs, as tenantleſs abode."

The ſkill of the artiſt is equally diſplayed in the delineation of Lord Eldon's portrait.

" So come forth, penſive *wool-ſack*, legal clay!
Giant refreſh'd! the ling'ring law's delay!
The Chanc'ry's dray-cart! drone of Lincoln's-Inn;
The tight-cork'd bottle of its endleſs bin!
Since vain's the legal ſearch we may purſue;
An Eldon's ſapience blunts the keeneſt ſcrew.
Once more the raven croaks, fell bird of fate!
No cauſe decided—matters arbitrate:
Sly *ruſe*, by which the judge his conſcience eaſes,
Referring judgment whereſoe'er he pleaſes.
Now liſten, prithee, to his ſtudied rant,
His vows, his eye-drops, hyperbolic cant:" &c. &c.

Lord Hawkeſbury's is a *whole-length* portrait: indeed it ſeems to have been ſketched on the bed of Procruſtes. Two or three features, however, muſt ſuffice for our readers. But before we exhibit them, we muſt pro-

duce another groſs miſtake of this blundering blockhead of a bard. After ſtigmatizing his Lordſhip, as a "rapacious peer," and the verieſt paraſite to the King in exiſtence, he ſagaciouſly adds, "As to the back-ſtairs, it is a ſtory that has," (*has* what? but 'tis too much to expect grammar from a poetaſter) "and will ſtand on record ſo long as his Lordſhip ſhall live: but back-ſtairs are nothing with J-nky, who would with equal alacrity kiſs back-d-s*, if another place or penſion could be procured by ſo *honourable* an employment." Here the author has given another rap on the knuckles to his friends; and, no doubt, the *Marquis of Buckingham* will feel highly obliged to him for this back-ſtairs blunder.——Now to the portrait.

"When thou hadſt acceſs to the r—l ear,
By turns, inſtilling hope, or doubt, or fear;
Whiſp'ring to Majeſty that Pitt was ill,
That Fox had got the gripes, and ta'en a pill;
How Boney for a furfeit ſwallow'd phyſic,
Or that ſome fête that morn was giv'n at Chiſwick.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
This is the man now filling poſt of Sec
For Home Department! nought can break his neck:
Atlas political, whoſe ſhoulders' fort
Can penſions, places, ſinecures ſupport.
Who Mammon's throne would fill, to ſooth his itches,
And, not content, then rob him of his breeches;
A title wrought no change in H-wkſ-b-ry;
What ſimple J-nky was, the Lord muſt be:
For gold he panted, and for pelf doth pant,
True ſucking court-leech; rav'nous cormorant;
The greedy babe, not merely gorging pye
With mouth, but equally with goggle eye.
Adieu! adieu! to Plutus† I commend thee;
As for old Nick, he always did befriend thee.
Moſt of his imps now form the high ſtate legion;
So I'll not introduce thee to his region,
But take my leave, aſſur'd the blockiſh ſpell
Muſt break, and waft ye to your native hell."
. . . . . .
"Tacæ, my friend," &c.

We heartily wiſh that all *blockiſh heads* were broken, and then their tongues would not run ſo faſt. One more ſpecimen, and we will ſpare the patience of our readers all farther trial.

"In flight *poetic*, I forgot a Lord,
A ſpick-ſpan new one, I mean Bobby Ward;

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* This evidently implies that his Lordſhip has *kiſſed* back-ſtairs; which is rather a novel mode of gratifying a rapacious diſpoſition.

† Query *Pluto?*

Who once conceiv'd that he laſh'd Boney's ſins
When State's Sub. Sec. he penn'd the bulletins.
Theſe ſpecimens renown'd of his ſhew'd wits,
Long details of the fight at Auſterlitz;
Which had been quite complete—I tell ye, ſooth—
Had they not been deficient all in—*truth*.
Thoſe great men, Bathurſt, Montroſe, and Chatham,
Are not, in my opinion, worth a da—n.

. . . . . .

In Bedford's ſhoes now marches on Richmond,
Who late ſail'd over the ſalt-water pond.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

We've gen'rals twain, tho' not i' the army, for
Th' Attorney's one; t' other Solicitor:
But when they're nam'd, you'll own I tell no fibs,
Friend Pl m-r one; and t' other Sir Vic. Gibbs." !!!!!!!

We can really copy no more; our love of impartiality has carried us too far, exhauſted the whole ſtock of *our* patience, and, we fear, that of our readers too. Fortunately, not one word of comment is neceſſary; and we ſhall conclude with a friendly admonition to *all the Talents* to inſtitute *a new office*, and appoint Flagellum *bellman* to the party; he will have an advantage which ſome of thoſe who fill their other *new offices* have not: he will be admirably qualified for his ſituation. One word more at parting. Eraſmus could not have drawn the character of Flagellum and his muſe better than he has himſelf in the following lines:

"Rhyme without reaſon makes the muſe a fool,
Therefore I briefly ſay, A FOOL'S A FOOL."

Melville's Mantle; being a Parody on the Poem entitled "Elijah's Mantle." 8vo. Pp. 24. 1807.

AT the cloſe of the book reviewed in the preceding article was a Parody on Elijah's Mantle, which we did not think worthy of notice. The *parody* before us, though devoid of the folly and of the ſcurrility which mark the other, is ſtill greatly inferior to the original, and has, indeed, nothing but its ſentiments to recommend it; and theſe will no doubt recommend it to the Foxites and the Grenvilles. Its object, the author tells us, in his "advertiſement," is to counteract the effects of thoſe impoſitions which, he maintains, are practiſed by the preſent Adminiſtration. He accuſes them of a wiſh to renew the riots of 1780 by the cry of *the Church is in danger*, and to inflame the minds of the populace with religious fury. Believing, as we do, moſt firmly, that the Church was in very great danger, we muſt deny the fact, that any ſuch cry was raiſed throughout the country. The truth is, that the people ſaw it was a queſtion between their King and a powerful ariſtocratic confederacy, who wiſhed to lord it over him; and on this ground, and no other, did they give their votes at the election. As to the danger of riots, from religious enthuſiaſm, the author, who appears to be a ſenſible and a diſpaſſionate (though not an unprejudiced) man, muſt know the temper of the times too well, we ſhould think,

to entertain the ſmalleſt apprehenſion of it. Religious *indifference*, unfortunately, is the characteriſtic of the preſent age.

"Mr. Windham," ſays the author in a note, "ſupports meaſures, not men; and the more liberal the meaſures, the more he approves of them." Mr. Windham oppoſed the abolition of the ſlave trade; ſpeaking of which, the author ſays, "but, thank God! the ſlave trade has been aboliſhed before their diſmiſſal from office." We think Mr. Windham was right; but what became of his *liberality*, in the author's eſtimation, on this occaſion? The compliment to Mr. Fox, in the cloſing ſtanza, is natural enough in a Foxite, but we ſhould be both hypocritical and inconſiſtent, were we to accede to the juſtice of the application. Contending wits and ſatiriſts may *parody* "Elijah's Mantle," but they will never equal it.

Flagellum Flagellated; a Satirical Poem, with Notes. By Ben Block. 8vo. 1p. 50. 1s 6d. Stockdale, junior, Pall Mall. 1807.

IN his preface, this writer apologiſes for having been tempted to retort "the low abuſe with which 'All the Blocks' abounds, in its native vulgarity;" and in his "dedication" he excuſes the grounds upon which that poetaſter attempts to defend the claims of the late miniſtry to the appellation beſtowed on them by their partiſans: theſe grounds are, PEACE, and the ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

"I ſhould be ſorry," ſays the author, "to rob them of this merit: but permit me to enquire wherein they are entitled to the preſumptuous title of ALL THE TALENTS in their weak and imbecile attempt to make a peace? Was it in the *means* (which) they took to accompliſh this moſt deſired event? Or does the *perſon* they made choice of as an ambaſſador to execute their plans, entitle them to all the praiſe (which) you ſo laviſhly beſtow? Could they find no other perſon than Lord L--d-rd-l-, who had only, and could have only, the honour of the nation in his mind to attend to, and with an Argus eye to watch the tricks of the artful and deſigning Talleyrand? Pray, Flagellum, has not his Lordſhip property in France to a large amount? What! a peer of Old England* prefer French to Britiſh ſecurity? Shame, where is thy bluſh? For Lord L.——'s ſake, I will not take a retroſpect of his former conduct previous to his amalgamation with all the Talents; but I cannot omit mentioning the ſugar-ſop of 2 or 3000l. a-year for his Lordſhip's diſappointment in not going to ſhake the pagoda tree in India. Yet all the Talents take no care of themſelves, *forſooth*; no, *not they—modeſt gentlemen*, they are too *liberal*, too *patriotic*—they *ſcorn* to take any thing, *themſelves*, from the public purſe, or give it to others. What ten commiſſioners, at upwards of 1000l. per annum each? is that nothing? But do tell us, Flagellum, for what purpoſe? To tell us, what we already know, that there has been great peculation; will it reſtore one ſhilling back to the public purſe? No! not a doit. However, the friends of all the Talents muſt be provided for, though it ſhould be by ſending good money after bad. An enormous ſalary to Mr.

* His Lordſhip was only a Scotch peer when he ſold one of his beſt eſtates in Scotland, and laid out the produce in purchaſing the confiſcated property of the French church and nobility.—REV.

T-ck-r, for falſely accuſing Sir Home Popham of peculation; this is out-heroding Herod! Read the Scriptures*, Flagellum, 'Take the beam out of thine own eye;' you may be able to ſee clearer: but, rogue-like, you think you have the advantage by crying rogue firſt. So much for the peace (which) all the Talents intended to make, and their patriotic diſintereſtedneſs: as you only mention *two things* in their favour, ſo will I obſerve not to bring more proofs againſt them. Had they accompliſhed a peace," (aye, a *fair*, *honourable*, and *ſecure* peace) "every humane man would have bleſſed them, and they would have deſerved the applauſe of the world."

Candour, however, demands the acknowledgment, that if the late miniſters did not make a peace, the fault was not theirs; for they exerted their utmoſt efforts to produce it, and were ready to make even greater ſacrifices than the relative ſituations of the contracting parties could juſtify.

"And ſo, Flagellum, to their labours we are indebted for the abolition of the ſlave-trade. Experience makes fools wiſe." Yes, fools who acknowledge their folly, but not thoſe who miſtake ignorance for knowledge, and incapacity for talent. But we have that yet to learn, and experience only can ſhew us whether, as a political ſcheme, it is wiſe, or as a chriſtian one it is humane. As to its being ſubverſive of the laws of nature and of heaven, in the ſcriptures we ſee no mark of Divine diſpleaſure at the traffic of ſlaves, therefore we are aſſuming great arrogance to ourſelves (rather, diſplaying great arrogance) in ſaying, all generations before us *have acted contrary to the laws of nature and of heaven*. Let us look to what France has done in their nonſenſical jargon of univerſal liberty and freedom. *They have made the blacks free, and themſelves ſlaves.* Look at the hiſtory of St. Domingo! and I pray heaven we may not ſee the ſame bloody deeds tranſacted at Jamaica, and our other Weſt India Iſlands: if we ſhould, all the Talents will, I hope, volunteer their ſervices to quench the fires (which) they have lighted."

We are decidedly of opinion that Mr. Wilberforce, for whoſe virtues we have a very ſincere reſpect, though we ſeriouſly dread the effects of his enthuſiaſm, ought to be appointed viceroy of the new ſettlement of *Sierra Leone;* the happy produce of *experimental philanthropy!* and to ſerve the office without a ſalary, as ſome ſmall return for the heavy expence which he and his philanthropic aſſociates have entailed upon the country. On the praiſe beſtowed by Flagellum on that portion of the Talents ycleped *Richard Briniley Sheridan*, a name which includes every thing that is great and good, in religion, in morals, in politics, and in ſocial life, his Flagellator thus remarketh.

"No wonder he merits *your* praiſe for having wiſhed to make ſome *little alterations* in the laws between *debtor and creditor;* but, Flagellum, here he had a little fellow-feeling. He told his friends on the huſtings

* We ſhrewdly ſuſpect that Flagellum is forbidden to read the Scriptures without a prieſt for his *interpreter*. Perhaps this practice may once more render the Romiſh faith *faſhionable*, as people of condition may have the *credit*, without the *trouble*, of looking into their Bible, which they may then read, as many of them now vote,---by *proxy*. Whether Lords Grenville and Howick, Meſſrs. Grattan, Windham, and the little Jacobin banker of Waterford, have *ſo* read it, we preſume not to decide.—Rev.

at Covent-garden, he would ſell the freemen of Ilcheſter to his ſon, *a moſt marvellous worthy honeſt gentleman*, as he attempted at Stafford, and this becauſe they placed him beyond the ſenſitive touch of a bailiff. Oh, Gratitude! whither art thou fled? Far from the boſom of this jewel, this brighteſt gem of all the Talents. Here I muſt revert to what had eſcaped my notice in your dedication, where you ſay, 'and from the general tenor of your proceeding was to be diſcerned the moſt ſcrupulous attention to the exiſting burthen impoſed on the community at large.' Gracious God! how can, or how could, you have the effrontery to aſſert ſuch a palpable falſehood? Look at the commiſſioners—Mr. T-ck-r, and I believe the Hon. Mrs. C. F-x, and many more, who, no doubt, have ſerved the public as well as *this* lady, and Lord E--k-ne; and give them penſions from the hard earnings of (Sir Francis Burdett's friends) the mobility!"

We interrupt our quotation to introduce a happy remark of a witty friend of ours, who, during the late election for Weſtminſter, adviſed the Baronet to adopt the following appoſite motto:

MOBILITATE viget, viresque acquirit eundo.

Mr. Horne Tooke, or Dr. Parr, may tranſlate it for their young friend, and will do well to recommend it to his ſerious attention.

"One ſaid this country was not worth living in; another, that it was not worth defending. Indeed, it is well known if Lord E k-n- (when Mr. E--k-n- and the Defender of Rebels) could have got the whole of his property ſafe to America, he never would have had the honour of ſitting on the Woolſack. For my part, I with from my ſoul that all thoſe who think Old England neither worth living in, nor worth defending, would ſhip themſelves off with all convenient ſpeed."

With this with, we are perſuaded, every honeſt Briton will concur.—— In one of the notes is an alluſion to a tranſaction which occurred during the General Election, while all the Talents were in power. It is a tranſaction of ſuch a nature that it cannot be too deeply inveſtigated, too generally known, nor too loudly reprobated: for this reaſon, we ſhall extract the note.

"Captain Hawkins, an old ſeaman, a native and inhabitant of Saltaſh, had very great influence in that borough from family connections, but more from goodneſs of heart and diſpoſition. In the reign of terror at the A—— B——, that is, during the St. V —— reign, Captain H—— was applied to by the B—— for his intereſt in favour of a perſon to repreſent the Borough: it was complied with, and that perſon, by Captain H.'s intereſt *alone*, was choſen the member. Soon afterwards, this *humane* B——, through Mr. T—ck—r, a gentleman notorious as a mere matter of fact man, wrote to Captain H—— for his intereſt in favour of *another* gentleman to be choſen *Mayor*: this Captain H——, from certain reaſons, could *not* comply with. Gentle reader, mark the ſequel! Captain H ſoon received a public letter from the A. B to prepare himſelf for a court martial for tyranny and oppreſſion, on a charge brought by a drunken maſter, thirteen *months after* this ſuppoſed crime took place. A private letter from Mr. T—ck—r, informing him at the ſame time, that counſel would be ſent down to him through the *kindneſs* of E—— S. V., to conſult with him on *his defence*; well, this

Counſel did come—a Mr. C——r; and what, gentle reader, did this Counſel? Why he propoſed to Captain H., that if he would be the means of Mr. —— being choſen mayor, he had authority to ſay, the court martial would be dropped, or, if the maſter did perſiſt in his charge, and he ſhould be found guilty, the miniſtry would afterwards ſupport him, that is, would reſtore him to his rank. Captain H., with a firmneſs which innocence always commands, ſpurned the baſe offer, and ſaid, he was ready for a court martial whenever it might be ordered. But this was not all—The A. B. had *three* diſtinct courts of inquiry, before they could get *one* to ſay there were grounds for a court martial. Would not any one ſuppoſe, that, as Captain H. reſided at Saltaſh, ſo near Plymouth, out of reſpect to him as an old officer, and to ſave him expence, the B. of A. would have ordered the court martial to be held at Plymouth?—but no; that was too great a favour. An old officer had dared to refuſe a requeſt, and of courſe he was forced to go from Saltaſh to Portſmouth to be tried for a *ſuppoſed* crime, committed thirteen months previous to the order for the court martial. Captain H. was *tried*, and *acquitted*, and left to find his way back to Saltaſh as well as he could. Muſt it not be clear to every man of common ſenſe, that this court martial never would have been thought of as long as Captain H. complied with the *imperative* wiſhes of —— ——, but no longer? for there cannot be a doubt this court martial was kept in petto, ready to be brought forward the moment Captain H. dared to think and act for himſelf. The event has proved it. The trial I rejoice to find is publiſhed*. Now let the 'Officer in the Channel Fleet,' who figured away in *The Times*† to ſupport Lord St. V., and produced his Lordſhip's orders to the Phyſician of the Fleet, concerning the ſick, as proofs of his humanity, read this! The noble Lord's humanity will, I think, appear of a new claſs, genus, and ſpecies, of which we hope there are no ſeeds or offsets. What a *merciful*, *humane*, *feeling* Peer and Admiral, to call that *humanity* which was his *duty* as an officer, and would have been done, had he not ſo ordered it, by every captain and officer in his fleet, namely, *take care of the ſick!* —but this Peer was one of ALL THE TALENTS. His Lordſhip pulled the wires at the Adm——y, and puppet G--y and lubber M-rk--m, like automatons, moved only accordingly. What think you of this, Flagellum?—Sir H. Popham is another ſpecimen of noble *humanity*. Who directed G--y to perſecute Sir H. Popham, or rather to order him home to be perſecuted? To Sir E. P----w his Lordſhip was *kind indeed*.—The ſtyle of what you think poetry and ſatire I ſhall venture to make uſe of, as it is very a propos to what paſſed between the Peer and the Knight; *i. e.*, 'If you kiſs my ——, I'll ſcratch your elbow.' What think you, Flagellum? Your elegant language has improved me."

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* We will thank any of our correſpondents to let us know where this Trial may be had.—REV.

† This writer does not ſeem to know, that *The Times* is the property of the identical Mr. T—ck—r, who appears to have been the agent in this moſt ſcandalous tranſaction. *Hence* all the praiſes laviſhed ſo profuſely on the moſt vain, empty, ſelf-ſufficient, and tyrannical animal, that ever walked the quarter deck.—REV.

The tranſaction here recorded, if the facts be correctly ſtated, is one of the moſt infamous in the annals of Whig tyranny; but we ſhall reſerve our final ſentiments upon it until we ſhall have read the trial of Captain Hawkins. Meantime, we muſt expreſs our aſtoniſhment that ſuch a man as Mr. Windham, who, wiſh all his party prejudices, has the mind of a gentleman, could proſtitute his praiſe to ſuch a being as the principal figure in this exhibition!

We have no room to quote any part of the Poem. The verſe is not above mediocrity; and the whole compoſition, indeed, bears evident marks of haſte. The ſtyle is ſlovenly, and abounds with inaccuracies.

Poems, chiefly amatory. By David Carey, Author of the Pleaſures of Nature, Reign of Fancy, &c. &c. Pp. 127, ſmall 8vo. 5s 6d, bds. Blacklock. 1807.

HITHERTO we had marked, with pleaſure, the progreſs of this young poet; and we had hoped, ere this, to be greeted with ſome performance of his pen, worthy of the author of "*The Reign of Fancy**." The Poems now before us are probably all that Mr. Carey intended them to be. "In treating of 'love and love's diſport,' ſays he, "inſtruction ſeems out of the caſe, and all that may be expected of ſuch a writer on ſuch a ſubject is, that his ſentiments ſhould be chaſte without being dull, his fancy not more lively than correct, and his deſcription pleaſing without the aid of meretricious ornament. With this object in view, and with the utmoſt reverence for the cauſe of virtue, the following amatory pieces were written; and notwithſtanding they are the ſpontaneous effuſions of the moment when the fancy is ſeldom governed by the moſt rigid rules of propriety, they may poſſibly tend to ſhew that a poet may be a lover, and ſpeak the language of paſſion, without wounding the delicacy and forfeiting his claim to the favour of his miſtreſs."

With the exception of one or two inſtances, we conceive that Mr. Carey has ſucceeded in his aim; yet, as we conſider his Muſe to be capable of far more elevated flights, we truſt that the preſent *morceaux* are to be regarded only as the precurſors of ſomething which may poſſeſs a ſtronger claim upon our intereſt.

A conſiderable portion of elegance, of unſophiſticated feeling, and of poetic vigour, will, however, be found in theſe pieces; of which we ſubmit the following, addreſſed "*To Love*," as a ſpecimen.

"O Love! if thou would'ſt ſtill poſſeſs
My heart with genuine tenderneſs,
Though Hope no more illumes my day,
And Laura's form be far away,
Ah! lead me to the ſummer ſhade
By many a ſweet ſong vocal made;
Or flowery meads, or verdant hills,
Where many a lucid ſtream diſtils;

* See a review of this Poem, in the 21ſt volume of the Anti-Jacobin, p. 180.

When Day's laſt lingering weſtern fire
Gleams on the leſſening village ſpire;
The ſcenes that, wont to charm my breaſt,
And oft by Laura's preſence bleſt.
Again, ſweet Love! O lead me *there*,
And chaſe awhile the fiend Deſpair,
And I will catch the woodland ſong
That ſeems the muſic of her tongue;
And I will kiſs the roſe's bloom
That faintly waſts her breath's perfume;
And mark the glimmering proſpect fade,
And think I claſp the lovely maid,
Till tranſports, ſuch as ſhe can give,
Bid rapture's waking viſions live,
And, haply, Hope, as from the tomb,
May riſe in renovated bloom;
May ſnatch one moment to be gay,
And gild the future with her ray."

The Moorland Bard; or Poetical Recollections of a Weaver in the Moorlands of Staffordſhire: with Notes. 2 vols. 24mo. Pp. 194. 7s 6d. Allbut, Hanley, Staffordſhire; Button, London. 1807.

IN a modeſt preface this humble bard, whoſe name is BAKEWELL, deprecates the ſeverity of criticiſm, and prefers his lowly claims to public protection. "If theſe plain queſtions,—Does the book pleaſe?—will it corrupt the heart, or pervert the underſtanding? can be anſwered to the honour of the work, then he truſts it will eſcape cenſure." His confidence is well founded; we conſcientiouſly anſwer his plain queſtions, by aſſuring him, and the public, that the book does pleaſe us, and will pleaſe every ſimple, unſophiſticated mind, not including, of courſe, the diſciples of the meretricious ſchool of *La Cruſca*; and that, ſo far from corrupting the heart, or of perverting the underſtanding, its natural tendency is to meliorate the one and to improve the other. The author is evidently a man of ſenſe, reflection, and feeling: his Poems are generally ſimple and pleaſing; ſome of them are pathetic; and the Notes contain many pertinent and judicious remarks. In one of his Notes, he defends an opinion, advanced in a former work (which has not met our eye), that maniacs, who commit deliberate ſuicide, ſhould experience the puniſhment which the law applies to murder. The idea is novel; but the arguments with which it is ſupported are both ingenious and forcible. He is no doubt aware that it is the *abſence of will*, or the deſtruction of *free agency*, which is ſuppoſed to reſult from *inſanity*, that exempts the maniac from puniſhment. It is the *malus animus*, or *evil mind* or *intention*, which conſtitutes the *guilt*; and if a man have no direction of his own mind, he ceaſes to be a *free agent*, and cannot, therefore, be charged with the conſequences of his actions. It is on this preſumption that the law acts; but we ſo far agree, with our ingenious bard, as to admit the force of the argument which he builds on the known influence of perſonal fear on the mind of a maniac. We do think, that a maniac might be deterred from the commiſſion of murder by the knowledge that, if he committed it, he would be hanged;

in the ſame way in which he is deterred from the commiſſion of other acts by the dread of correction. The argument, of courſe, applies only (and the author ſo limits its application) to ſuch murders, committed by maniacs, as are manifeſtly the reſult of deliberate fore-thought and reflection. We long ago ventured an opinion, that if one maniac were executed for an attempt to murder the King, we ſhould hear of no more ſuch attempts. At all events, the bard's opinion deſerves not to be *ſtigmatized*, but is entitled to very ſerious attention. We ſhall now extract two or three of his ſhort poetical pieces, as ſpecimens of his ſtyle and manner.

"ON BUONAPARTE'S DEFEAT AT ACRE.

"When Boney in Egypt had got the command,
He thought for to conquer the whole Holy Land;
Yes, the whole he'd poſſeſs, he ſwore by his Maker:
Why, damn it, ſays SIDNEY, he ſhan't have an *Acre.*"

"LINES ON BEING SUDDENLY CURED OF A VIOLENT PAROXYSM OF ANGER BY THE APPEARANCE OF A BEAUTIFUL INFANT.

"When anger rag'd within my ſoul,
And did my reas'ning pow'rs controul,
That beauteous face, that heav'nly ſmile,
Did paſſion's potent pow'r beguile;
One kiſs my heart with rapture fill'd,
And rage, that helliſh fiend, was ſtill'd:
I bleſſings on the child implor'd,
Who thus ſerenity reſtor'd."

"MY SON.

"Who is't, when I go home at night,
That comes to me with footſteps light,
And to my arms will eager run?
My Son.

"Who prattles then of all he's ſeen,
Or runs to tumble on the green,
And laughs, and calls it pretty fun?
My Son.

"Who can the ſounding cymbals play,
While brother tunes the martial lay,
But ſtops with 'Father, I've a gun?'
My Son.

"Who is't that does his grandſire love,
And does the old man's comfort prove;
Can get excus'd when miſchief's done?
My Son.

"Who climbs my knee to kiſs my cheek,
While I for fruit or ſweetmeats ſeek,
Saying, Mamma's to th' bury-place gone?
My Son.

" Who is't that ſhakes my very frame,
When he does thus his mother name,
While down my cheeks the tears will run?
My Son."

If theſe lines diſcover no claſſical erudition, they diſplay *nature* and *feeling*: many of the pieces, however, are more poliſhed and correct.

EDUCATION.

A new, eaſy, and complete Grammar of the Spaniſh Language; a copious Vocabulary of Words, Dialogues, &c.; together with a Commercial Correſpondence, Fables, and Proſe and Poetical Extracts from the beſt Authors; which will be found of great Utility to Learners. Compiled and arranged in the moſt perſpicuous Manner for the Uſe of the Author's Commercial and Military Students. By John Emm. Mordente, Teacher of the Spaniſh Language. Pp. 354, 12mo. Lackington and Co. 1807.

THIS is one of thoſe literary toadſtools which ſpring up under the ſunſhine of the day. *El Senor Maeſtro*, however, who perhaps knows juſt enough of the Caſtilian tongue to adopt a Spaniſh participial termination to the name of Mordecai, is pleaſed to call his book " A new, eaſy, and *complete* Grammar of the Spaniſh Language." If this be the fact, that the author really deſigned it for a " complete Grammar of the Spaniſh Language," of which there is ſome reaſon to doubt, we can have no heſitation in declaring that it is the moſt *in*complete, the moſt erroneous, and the moſt contemptible work which has iſſued from the Engliſh preſs during the laſt century. Scarcely a page to be found in this volume, in which there are not combinations of letters unknown to any European language. Many of the rules are not only *imperfect* and erroneous, but abſolutely falſe, and contrary to truth. " *C*," he ſays, " before *e* and *i*, ſounds like *s*; as *Cecilia*, Cecily, a woman's name." This is not its ſound before theſe letters; on the contrary, the true Caſtilian ſound of *C* before *e* and *i* is tolerably repreſented by that of the Engliſh *th* in the word thick; and *Cecilia*, inſtead of being pronounced by a native of Caſtile like *Seſily*, is ſounded nearly as an Engliſhman would pronounce it if written *ſthetheelia*. The Spaniſh uſe but one accent, the acute; and not two, as *Senor Mordente* aſſerts. " En la lengua latina hay tres acentos grave, agudo y circunflexo; pero en la *nueſtra ſolo* tiene uſo el agudo que baxa obliqüamente de la derecha á la izquierda, con el qual denotamos las ſilabas largas, porque las breves no ſe acentúan," ſay the Academicians, of whoſe writings the author ſeems totally ignorant. The verb *tener*, to hold, poſſeſs, or contain, is conjugated as if it were on all occaſions abſolutely ſynonymous with *haber*, to have; and its future tenſe, ſubjunctive mood, *tuviére*, is altogether omitted, and *hubiére* ſubſtituted in its place! The Spaniſh Academicians, and indeed almoſt all writers on Spaniſh Grammar ſince the days of Nebrixa till the preſent author, have given three terminations to the paſt tenſe of the ſubjunctive mood. Senor Mordente has content-

ed himſelf with giving only *two*, leaving his pupils to find out the third by their reading! Thus, in all the three conjugations of the Spaniſh verbs, we have here only *hablaria*, *habláſe*, *beberia*, *bebiéſe*; *ſubiria*, *ſubiéſe*; inſtead of *hablaria*, *habláſe*, HABLARA; *beberia*, *bebiéſe*, BEBIERA; *ſubiria*, *ſubiéſe*, SUBIERA. Yet in the proper uſe of theſe different terminations conſiſts much of the variety and elegance of the Spaniſh ſtyle. *Se* and *ra* are generally conjunctive terminations, *ria* an optative; of courſe their import may be indicated by our *could*, *ſhould*, and *would*. The idiomatical tenſes *haber de hablar*, to ſpeak hereafter; *he de hablar*, I muſt ſpeak, &c. are omitted; as if the Spaniſh were, like the French, obliged to expreſs all theſe things by an *il faut*. *Amenos*, *amenudo*, *derepente*, are not Spaniſh words till they are divided thus, *á menos*, *á menudo*, *de repente*. But we have already ſaid enough of a work unqueſtionably much better adapted to envelope a piece of Engliſh cheeſe or butter, than to introduce Engliſhmen to a knowledge of the noble language of Caſtile. We conſider it an inſult to the Britiſh nation, and as ſuch conſign it to oblivion.

Eſſays on Moral and Religious Subjects, calculated to increaſe the Love of God and the Growth of Virtue in the youthful Mind. By M. Pelham. 12mo. Pp. 154. 3s. Harris (Succeſſor to E. Newbery, corner of St. Paul's Church Yard). 1807.

THIS is one of the very beſt books, for the amuſement and information of young people, that we have ever peruſed. The author (whom we conclude to be a female) entertains the moſt juſt notions as to the proper mode of inſtilling right principles into the youthful mind by combining recreation with inſtruction. In her advertiſement, ſhe wiſely cautions the thoughtleſs and the giddy, who ſeek for nothing, in a book, but the means of amuſing themſelves for an idle half hour, againſt the peruſal of theſe Eſſays; and ſhe gives a ſimilar admonition to a different deſcription of readers—alas! too numerous—who have no conception that a ſubject can be ſerious and important, without being tedious and gloomy. Moſt truly does ſhe obſerve that, "Whoever repreſents the beneficent CREATOR of the world, as a GOD pleaſed with the dejection of his worſhippers, does more miſchief to the cauſe of true religion, than the avowed champion of infidelity." Inſanity alone can repreſent, as fraught with gloom and replete with terrors, the worſhip of that God, *whoſe ways are ways of pleaſantneſs, and all whoſe paths are peace!* Religion is the only foundation of human happineſs; the only ſure guide in proſperity; the only certain conſolation in adverſity.

"Every thing in this world, my young friends," ſays this judicious and pious writer, in her preface, "you muſt be ſenſible, is liable to change: riches make to themſelves wings, and fly away; pleaſure eludes our purſuit; and health is frequently ſucceeded by the torture of diſeaſe. This, it may be ſaid, is a melancholy picture of life, and as ſuch improper to be preſented to the eye of youth, whoſe ſpirits ſhould be buoyant, and who ought to be taught to look forward with hopeful expectation to every future period. Far be it from me to wiſh to caſt the ſmalleſt cloud of dejection acroſs the breaſt of thoſe to whom a gracious Providence hath given abundant cauſe to rejoice; but I would wiſh them to remember, that they are reaſonable, immortal, and accountable beings, placed in this

world only for a ſeaſon, in order to exerciſe thoſe virtues which ſhall hereafter qualify them to receive an eternal and never-fading crown of glory, in the kingdom of that 'GOD, in whoſe preſence is fulneſs of joy, and at whoſe right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.'"

The Eſſays are *twelve* in number, and on the following topics:

1. *The Duty of Submiſſion to Providence, illuſtrated by the Struggling of a Dove.* 2. *A Converſation between a Father and his Daughter upon the Neceſſity of bearing little Vexations with Patience.* 3. *Reflections occaſioned by ſeeing the coſtly Funeral of a Neighbour.* 4. *Thoughts ſuggeſted by obſerving the Conduct of a blind Man.* 5. *A Letter to a young Lady on the ſudden Death of both her Parents.* 6. *On the Sin of profaning the Sabbath.* 7. *A Mother's Soliloquy on the Baptiſm of her Child.* 8. *Human Nature compared with the vegetable Creation.* 9. *On the conſtant Care of an overruling Providence; written the Morning after a Storm.* 10. *The Hope of obtaining perfect Happineſs in this World is vain, and muſt create Diſappointment.* 11. *The Fleetneſs of Time ſhould make us diligent.* 12. *Want of Affiance in the Almighty gives Poignancy to Affliction.*—To theſe are added five Poems, *The Bleſſing of Content—An Addreſs to the Deity in Time of Sickneſs—The Search for Happineſs—A Soliloquy*—and *An Addreſs to Good Humour.*

Our readers will be aware, from the nature of the ſubjects, that theſe Eſſays afford an opportunity for inculcating ſome of the moſt important, and moſt practically uſeful leſſons, that can be impreſſed on the youthful mind. And the inſtruction is conveyed in a manner ſo natural and ſo pleaſing, the ſtyle is ſo eaſy and ſimple, while the appeals to the feelings are no leſs ſtrong than the calls on the judgment are powerful, that they cannot fail to intereſt thoſe for whoſe improvement they are deſigned. The eſſay *on the Profanation of the Sabbath* is one of the beſt of the many which have been written on that ſubject; it is as well calculated to inſtruct the *mother* as the *daughter*—and we heartily wiſh that thoſe faſhionable folks whoſe open contempt of the Fourth Commandment is inceſſantly proclaimed in the public records of faſhionable vice were compelled to read it, after their return from the Opera, every Saturday night, or rather every Sunday morning. We have not ſelected this eſſay for particular notice as being ſuperior to the reſt, for they are all equally meritorious; and we recommend them moſt earneſtly to the attention of families.

The Calendar; or Monthly Recreations; chiefly conſiſting of Dialogues between an Aunt and her Nieces, deſigned to inſpire the juvenile Mind with a Love of Virtue and of the Study of Nature. By Mrs. Pilkington. 12mo. Pp. 268. 3s 6d. Harris. 1807.

"TO improve the riſing age," ſays Mrs. Pilkington, in her preface; "to blend inſtruction with entertainment, and to adorn religion and morality in their moſt attractive garb, has been my favourite employment for a number of years." An employment more grateful to herſelf, and more beneficial to her fellow-creatures, cannot eaſily be conceived. The lady acknowledges that the idea of her preſent work was firſt ſuggeſted by a peruſal of Dr. Aikin's Natural Hiſtory of the Year, to whom, we think, ſhe concedes too much, by ſaying that the *inſtructive* part of her *Calendar* is to be aſcribed to him. But be that as it may, her Calendar contains an intereſting and affecting ſtory, fraught with a variety of incidents, naturally

introduced, and giving rise to much useful instruction. It will form a most acceptable addition to the *Juvenile Library*.

Tales of Instruction and Amusement written for the Use of young Persons. By Miss Mitchell, Author of Rational Amusement, Faithful Contract, and Moral Tales. 12mo. Pp. 252. 3s. Harris. 1807.

PREFIXED to these Tales, is an affectionate dedication to two young ladies just entering on the busy stage of life, to whom the author gives most salutary advice. "Let those precepts (which) it has always been my ardent desire to inculcate, still live in your remembrance! Let them warn you, that however desirable music, drawing, and those elegant accomplishments befitting your rank, may be, they are still but secondary considerations; which, though they may render you agreeable, can never, without higher acquirements, make you beloved; they may impart pleasure, but can never bestow happiness! Let virtue, then, be your first, as it will be your noblest, pursuit; and trust my experience when I assure you, that virtue and peace are never far distant; for though all are vulnerable to the shafts of adversity, by none are they so easily repelled as by those whose hearts are shielded by conscious integrity."

The *preface* is at variance with the *title page;* for in the latter Miss Mitchell announces herself as the author of three different works, whereas in the former she states this to be "her *first* effort." Probably the works enumerated in the title page were not *published* The Tales are well told, in easy and familiar language, and have for their object the inculcation of religious and moral principles in the minds of the readers. The scenes are chiefly those of domestic life, and the situations such as any man or woman may be placed in; a circumstance which should always be attended to, in tales or histories designed for the use of young persons; who may be either *astonished* or *delighted* with the Heroes and Heroines of Romance, but who can neither be *instructed* nor *improved* by the contemplation of scenes and characters repugnant to nature, or out of the ordinary course of human contemplation.

Moral Maxims, from the Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus. Selected by a Lady. *With plates.* 12mo. Pp. 130. 3s. Harris. 1807.

AS scripture is the only legitimate source of Christian morality, that author cannot but render an acceptable service to the rising generation, who selects for their use a series of moral maxims from a book, which, though *apocryphal*, is replete with religious wisdom, tending to teach the love of virtue, and the abhorrence of vice. The engravings in this little publication are illustrative of some of the Maxims, and are very neatly executed.

The Daisy, or cautionary Stories in Verse. Adapted to the Ideas of Children from Four to Eight Years old. Illustrated with thirty Engravings on Copper plate. 24mo. 1s. Harris. 1807.

ONE and thirty stories, and a hymn, with as many plates, are contained in this little book; the language and incidents of which are well suited to the capacities of young children.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Royal Eclipſe; or delicate Facts, exhibiting the Secret Memoirs of Squire George and his Wife: with Notes. By Diogenes. *Second Edition.* 12mo. Pp. 184. Price SEVEN SHILLINGS!!! Hughes. 1807.

Royal Inveſtigation; or, Authentic Documents, containing the Acquittal of H. R. H. the Pr—ſs of W—s. Officially compiled by a Serjeant at Law. 12mo. Pp. 200. SEVEN SHILLINGS!!! Hughes. 1807.

THESE two publications are the moſt ſcandalous impoſitions which any man ever dared attempt to paſs upon the public. The firſt of them contains *one hundred and eighty-four pages*, of fourteen lines each, widely printed, and full of *breaks*. In order, no doubt, to deceive the reader, the apparent bulk of the volume is increaſed by the following manœuvre. After p. 172, eight pages of advertiſements are ſtitched in; and the next page but one is numbered 194, and ſo on to the end, by which any one turning to the laſt page will ſuppoſe the book to contain twenty pages more than it does, or 204 pages, inſtead of 184; and of theſe are *thirty-three* ſucceſſive pages of extract from another publication. At the end the reader is preſented with *thirty ſix pages* more of book-advertiſements.

The ſecond publication is printed preciſely in the ſame manner, except that there are no advertiſements in the middle of the book, and only *forty* pages of advertiſements at the end of it. To make up, however, for the trifling deficiency of advertiſements, we have *no* leſs than *ſeventy-five pages of extracts* from other books—from *Lady Mary Wortley Montague*, Judge *Blackſtone*, &c. &c. That our readers may be enabled to form an eſtimate of the extent of this bare-faced impoſition, we have taken the trouble to compare the number of lines and words in a page of theſe volumes, with a page of our own Review; and the reſult is, that *ſixty-one pages* of this Review, printed in the ſame letter as this very article, would more than contain the whole of the *two volumes* before us, which coſt *fourteen ſhillings!* The increaſed price of paper and printing certainly compels the bookſellers to raiſe the price of their publications in proportion; but even now many of them publiſh a two ſhilling pamphlet containing more matter than either of theſe volumes. We ſpeak *feelingly* of the growing price of books; and, therefore, whenever we meet with an evident impoſition, we ſhall certainly expoſe it, as well to prevent a repetition of it, on *our own account*, as to guard the public againſt it. Such an impoſition as the preſent, however, we never met with before.

Having diſcuſſed the *manner*, we now proceed to the *matter* of theſe publications. We ſcruple not to pronounce *The Royal Eclipſe* to be one of the *moſt malignant*, *cowardly*, and *atrocious libels* which ever iſſued from any preſs. We will not ſoil our pages with any account of it. It is not a work for *criticiſm;* but it is a work for the cognizance of the *Attorney General*, who will not do his duty unleſs he brings the parties concerned in it before a court of juſtice. We ſhall ever be found moſt arduous aſſertors of the conſtitutional freedom of the preſs; we will ever ſtrenuouſly defend the right of Britons freely to diſcuſs the public conduct of public men, from the

higheſt ſubject in the realm to the loweſt; we will ever firmly ſupport the *real* advocates of religion and morals, againſt whomſoever their ſhafts may be directed; but we will never fail to reprobate the dark and cowardly aſſaſſin, who makes the preſs a means of planting a dagger in the boſom of innocence; who ſeeks to invade the peace of families; or who labours, with the malignity of a fiend, to give to falſehood the ſemblance of truth, to reduce conviction to doubt, and to ſcatter thoſe ſeeds which, if once ſuffered to take root, would bring forth the fruits of anarchy and civil diſſention.

If any thing could add to the diſguſt which we experienced on reading this ſtupid and profligate book, it was to find the author, with all his flowery declamations againſt vice, one of its ſtaunchеſt advocates and moſt ſervile paraſites.

"Who was ever more diſſolute in youth than HAL, the boon companion of the licentious, but witty, Falſtaff? and whoever made a better king?

"The heir apparent of his family's honours *may* play the truant ſchoolboy while his father guards the truſt inherited from his anceſtors; it is a ſort of holiday, during which we are permitted to ſport and gambol, as the fancy leads; and how often, independently of the example I have quoted, have the wildeſt boys turned out to be the beſt family-men?"

It is difficult to ſay whether profligacy or ignorance be moſt conſpicuous here. Wretched pander! and canſt thou pretend to quote with approbation ſuch ſentiments as the following:

"I have no objection to make every reaſonable allowance for follies that are inoffenſive or unimportant. But the vice that impudently braves public juſtice, and exacts homage from virtue; that gigantic vice, which, from the proud and inſulting pre-eminence of rank, has the audacity to ſet morality at defiance, and is as incorrigible in its nature as it is miſchievous in its conſequences; *that* deſcription of vice, I will ever maintain, ought to be felled to the ground with the club of Hercules."

One more quotation which our readers will not fail to *apply*, and we conſign this writer, who has but *one* feature of the philoſopher whoſe name he ridiculouſly aſſumes, to a critic of a different ſpecies.

"WHILE GENIUS LABO(U)RS TO IMPROVE MORALITY, AND STARVES IN THE ATTEMPT; THE VENALIST, WHO PAMPERS PUBLIC DEPRAVITIES AT THE EXPENCE OF INDIVIDUAL FEELINGS, FATTENS ON THE SPOILS OF INFAMY." Mutato nomine, de *te* fabula narratur. Whoever expects to find in the "ROYAL INVESTIGATION" the "*authentic documents*" which its title-page announces, or any ſerious attempt at that *juſtification* which the advertiſement of this book in the newſpapers proclaimed, will be moſt grievouſly diſappointed. We are rather diſpoſed to imagine, ſtrange as it may ſeem! that the two books are written by one perſon; and to conſider the whole as a mere ſpeculation of *trade*. Though the one profeſſes to cenſure the other; the cenſure is extremely lukewarm, and may after all be a mere *ruſe de guerre* played off for the purpoſe of keeping up the deception. On ſome material points there is no diſſimilarity of ſentiment.

Alluding to the *amours* of a certain perſonage, about which the leſs that is ſaid the better, the author courteouſly obſerves; "Princes are *men*, however dignified by birth; and education, by refining the ſenſibilities of the heart, expoſes them more than the common orders of ſociety to the fatalities of love."—A pretty apology truly for *fornication* and *adultery*. In

the *dark ages*, indeed, when the mind of man was in thraldom, and it was needleſs to forbid the laity the uſe of the Bible, becauſe ſcarcely any but *Prieſts* could read, education had particular privileges, and exempted a man from the gallows, when he had committed a crime for which his ignorant fellow-ſubject would have been infallibly hanged. But we were diſpoſed to think, that, in the preſent enlightened age, the effects of education were rather better appreciated; and that while ignorance on the one hand was not admitted as an excuſe for the commiſſion of a crime, education, on the other, was juſtly conſidered as an aggravation of ſin; and for the plain reaſon, that a man who has been well educated muſt be better acquainted with the nature and conſequences of offences againſt God and man, and is therefore, in the *moral forum*, deemed deſerving of a ſeverer puniſhment than the ignorant and uninformed offender. The author goes on in the ſame ſtrain.

"Who loſt Mark Anthony the world? Woman. Who occaſioned Troy a ten years' ſiege? Woman. Who chained Hercules to the diſtaff? Woman." We muſt interrupt our quotation juſt to remark, that three queſtions and anſwers, with the laſt eight *words* of the preceding quotation, occupy *a whole page* of the book!—"But to be more modern in my application, one of the moſt celebrated among kings, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among ſoldiers, was one of the moſt weak among women. The glory of his nation, the terror of his enemies; wiſe in council, undaunted in the field; Henry the Fourth of France was the ſlave, the plaything, of a woman. And I will venture to aſſert, that *there never was a greater or good man* who did not more or leſs ſubject himſelf to the capricious bondage of ſome lovely tyrant;" in plain Engliſh, to *fornication* and *adultery*; which, in the ſubſequent page, this *liberal* moraliſt ſtyles *peccadillos* unworthy of notice! We wonder much that he did not add another feature to his picture of the French monarch, and conclude by ſaying that HE ABJURED HIS RELIGION!

Other paſſages might be quoted which ſtrengthen our ſuſpicions that the two works are the production of the ſame hand. As to the *compilation* and the *Serjeant at Law*, no traces of either are to be found in the "Royal Inveſtigation." Though it be the cuſtom to think meanly of ſerjeants at law (and a vile cuſtom it is), no one, we ſuſpect, would impute ſuch a dedication as the following to one of the learned fraternity.

"I am *illy* qualified to write a dedication, being unſchooled in flattery; but though the talent is denied me of ſacrificing, with grace, at the ſhrine of vanity, I feel I am not unqualified to make the offerings of Truth *to* the ſhrine of Virtue." The offerings, it is apprehended, ſhould be made *to* Virtue herſelf, and not *to* her *ſhrine*.

"To you, therefore, Madam, do I preſume to addreſs this little volume." (*little* indeed!) "Your long and tried friendſhip to Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales, *and* the near and dear intereſt you take in her welfare, leads (lead) me to hope you will peruſe it with ſatisfaction,"—We ſuſpect that Lady Townſhend, to whom this dedication is addreſſed, and who is entitled to every praiſe for her conduct during this extraordinary proceeding, will be induced to exclaim, "Non tali auxilio, nec defenſoribus iſtis."

We paſs over the general contents of the volume, which, though ſcanty in their bulk, are multifarious in their nature: any extracts from *them*

would only ſerve to increaſe that odium and that irritation, in the better part of the public mind, which every good ſubject muſt wiſh to ſee removed, by a removal of the cauſe which produced them. We ſhall only ſelect the concluding paſſage, every word of which has our fulleſt approbation.

"Whether this myſterious inveſtigation will ever be ſuffered to appear more circumſtantially" (it has not yet appeared at all) before the public, is a doubt beyond my caſuiſtry.

"But if it does not, all the continent of Europe will feel the act to be an infringement on the ſacred laws of a country, whoſe conſtitution has hitherto been the general theme of envy and admiration among all poliſhed nations.

"They will feel that civil, or moral, wrong may be tried in England without an open court and free diſcuſſion; they will feel that a ſubject may be arraigned without being either condemned or acquitted: they will feel that ſlander may heap injuries on the innocent, without being amenable to chaſtiſement!"

We have ever ſtrongly contended for the neceſſity of publiſhing the whole of the inquiry on this very important ſubject; important whether we conſider it in its reference to the illuſtrious perſonage principally concerned, or in its conſequences to the community at large. Had any doubt remained of the propriety of our opinion on the queſtion, it would have been effectually ſolved by a peruſal of the volumes before us. While the tongue of Slander is buſy in the circulation of lies, Envy, Hatred, Malice, are at work to calumniate Virtue, and to raiſe the moſt tormenting doubts in the public mind—doubts pregnant with future danger to the State—it is fit and becoming, nay more, it is an imperative duty in thoſe who have the power, to oppoſe them with the voice of Truth and Juſtice.

REVIEWERS REVIEWED.

DR. HALLORAN'S LETTER ON THE REVIEW OF HIS "BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW.

Sir,

IN the review of my poem on the battle of "Trafalgar," in your number for this month, are ſome obſervations, ſo inapplicable and unjuſt, that I feel it due to myſelf to take public notice of them.

But, firſt, let me ſuggeſt, for the information of your liberal and candid reviewer, "that, *an exception* TO" is no very venial blunder in the critique of a literary cenſor, who undertakes to correct the errors of others; neither is "*he only gives a deſultory view of the fight*," an accurate expreſſion; the word "*only*" being evidently miſplaced!—So much for the grammatical knowledge and acumen of this learned critic! Your reviewer ſays, "We know ſo much of the gallant and patriotic behaviour of Lord Nelſon on that ever-memorable day," (what ever-memorable day? no previous reference to *time* is to be found in the article!) "and ſo many *intereſting* anecdotes have been related of his heroic conduct and

ſentiments after he received the fatal wound, that a very *intereſting* poem might have been *made* on the ſubject, had the poet taken his ſtation on board the Victory!" Surely, the reviewer muſt have read with very little attention, or he would have obſerved, "that I wrote on the ſcene of action, immediately after the engagement; that, owing to the ſtate of the weather, *all* that was at the time certainly underſtood in the fleet, was the death of Lord Nelſon, without any of the attending circumſtances;" and that therefore it was not poſſible for me "to make bricks without ſtraw," or to found a poem on events totally unknown; my only materials having been, "*the reſult of my perſonal obſervations during the period of the action.*"

I was not ſo vain to lay claim to any very high degree of poetical diſtinction; and I did indulge the hope, "that the moderation of my pretenſions would diſarm the rigor of the critic, ſo far at leaſt as to prevent him from being *extreme* in marking what is amiſs in ſo unaſſuming a production!" I am, indeed, ſenſible of many defects in the conduct and execution of the poem. For *theſe*, by a "candid critic," the circumſtances under which I wrote would have been admitted ſome extenuation! I ſhould be glad to ſee a production of this ſame "Cynical Reviewer," written in the midſt of ſimilar *diſadvantages*, *diſcouragements*, and *dangers!*

The introduction of "the abominable jargon of France," ſo ſeverely reprobated by this "Anti-Gallican Drawcanſir," is confined to *two* inſtances; one of which, the uſe of the word *Tocſin*, is, I maintain, ſtrictly applicable and appropriate to the occaſion on which it is introduced; viz. a deſcription of the extenſion of the French conqueſts, and of the conſequent ruin and devaſtation:

"From Arctic climes, for ever crown'd with ſnow,
To where Heſperia's ſofter breezes blow;
From the wild Oby to Iberia's ſhores,
Hoarſe battle brays, and ruin's *Tocſin* roars!"

The other word, "*Eléves*," carped at by this Hypercritic, has been adopted into the Engliſh language by ſome of our beſt modern orators and writers, and I am therefore leſs anxious,

"Si nequeo defendere crimen,
Cum tantis commune viris!"

The Reviewer's objection to the ſimile of the "*fighting cocks*" is certainly juſt; but I do not heſitate to aver, "that he has invidiouſly ſelected the moſt faulty parts of the poem, without doing me the juſtice to contraſt *theſe* with *others*, that poſſeſs better claims to attention!" and I challenge him to deny, "that *ſeveral* ſuch ſelections might have been made." Had he done ſo, I ſhould have thanked him for pointing out the faults, and, at the ſame time, fairly appreciating (as is the duty of a "literary caterer for the public") the merits of the poem! As it is, I am utterly at a loſs to account for the unqualified ſeverity of his cenſure, otherwiſe than by attributing it to the daſtardly diſpoſition "to wound the author's feelings, and to injure him in his intereſt and his reputation; *becauſe*, the *nominis umbra* of the critic ſecures his impunity."

I am, Sir, your moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

L. H. HALLORAN.

London, 5th June, 1807.

It is impoſſible to give any anſwer to this effuſion of one of the *genus irritabile* that would not tend to increaſe his anger; but we do not feel diſpoſed to retract one iota from our obſervations. It is always a painful taſk to wound the feelings of a man who may poſſibly be endowed with many eſtimable qualities; but it is our duty as critics, and it is a duty we will never ſwerve from, to give our real opinion of all the works which we undertake to review.

As for the petulant wiſh of this angry bard, that he could ſee as good a production of the Reviewer, its folly is only equal to its arrogance, and reminds us of the queſtion of Sir Harry's ſervant to the Duke's in *High Life below Stairs*, who had criticiſed his ſong, "Can you write a better?" His Horace might have told him that a writer may act as a whetſtone to others, though he cannot cut himſelf.

As for the uſe of the *abominable jargon of France* in Engliſh compoſition, our opinion is unaltered and unalterable; notwithſtanding the defence of *Tocſin* and *Elève*, we think a French word is inadmiſſible not only in verſe, (or, if this hypercritical gentleman prefers it, 'not in verſe only,') but in every other ſpecies of writing, except the letter of a boarding ſchool miſs, who is anxious to ſhew her friends her proficiency in a language which moſt likely it will be her good fortune never to acquire, as the acquiſition would lead her into ſuch reading and ſuch converſation as no prudent man would wiſh his wife to be acquainted with; and in this reſpect the Reviewer of the Battle of Trafalgar is proud to receive the appellation of an Anti Gallican Drawcanſir.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.

AN opportunity has at length preſented itſelf, which we embrace with eagerneſs, for the renewal of our acquaintance with our old friend, the Rev. Dr. Troy, without having to encounter thoſe moſt formidable opponents, the MARQUIS of BUCKINGHAM, and his ſolicitors, and without ſubjecting ourſelves or our publiſhers to that *legal* anſwer, which the Doctor, like many others, found an admirable ſubſtitute for argument; indeed it is an ancient practice, with the elders of the Church of Rome, to ſilence by authority thoſe whom they cannot confute by reaſon. But as the following Letters come from a highly reſpectable and profoundly learned divine, whoſe name we are authorized to prefix to them, this titular head of the Romiſh Church in Ireland may poſſibly not think it beneath his dignity to anſwer them: if ſo, and he ſhould condeſcend to chuſe an *heretical* vehicle for the conveyance of his ſentiments to the public, this work will be open to him for that purpoſe. From the collition of oppoſing ſentiments, it has been often remarked, the ſparks of truth will elicit; and, as the eſtabliſhment of truth, and the promotion of its intereſts, are our ſole objects, let the Doctor but convince us that we are in error, and we will immediately forſake the path which we ſo long have trodden. Perhaps, the hope of *converſion* will have its uſual effect on his mind, and induce him to honour us with his correſpondence. At all events, his

ſilence, we venture to aſſure him, will not be imputed to contempt, but to *ignorance* or *fear*.

The letters, which we have to lay, ſucceſſively, before our readers, are TEN in number; the firſt *ſeven* of them appeared in the Dublin Journal, at the latter end of the year 1803, and at the beginning of the following year, under the ſignature "Crito;" but the three laſt, in which a very extenſive and maſterly view of the ſubject is taken, have never been printed. They are replete with the moſt valuable information, and cannot fail to be highly intereſting at a period, which, in more features than one, bears a ſtrong reſemblance to that which immediately preceded the Revolution of 1688.

LETTERS TO THE REVEREND DOCTOR TROY, TITULAR ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN,

By the Reverend William Hales, D.D., late Profeſſor of the Oriental Languages in the Univerſity of Dublin, and Rector of Killyſandra, in Ireland.

Ἁπλῆς ὁ ΜΥΘΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΣ ἐφυ,
Κ' ἐποικίλων δεῖ ΤΑ ΕΝΔΙΚ' ἑρμηνευματων,
Ἐχει γαρ αυτα καιζον· ὁ δὲ ΑΔΙΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ
Νοσων ἐν ἀυτῳ, φαρμακων δειται σοφων.

Simple by nature is *the tale of Truth;*
Fair reaſonings need no various gloſſes,
For they have ſoundneſs: But *the unfair*,
Diſtemper'd in itſelf, requires ſophiſtic ſolves.

EURIPIDES.

"The Papiſts, wherever they are, have another king at Rome; all other Religions are ſubject to the preſent State, and have no Prince elſewhere." SELDEN, III, p. 2056.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The firſt ſeven letters of this collection appeared in ſucceſſion, according to their dates, in that conſtitutional paper, the *Dublin Journal*. The three laſt, on account of their length and controverſial nature, diſcuſſing, neither haſtily nor ſuperficially, the diſtinguiſhing tenets of the Church of *Rome*, political, religious, and moral, were deemed unfit for that popular mode of publication, though eſſentially connected with, and completory of the original plan. The whole collection is now preſented to the public, and earneſtly recommended to the peruſal of *all whom it may concern*, eſpecially *the members of the Legiſlature*, for whoſe uſe it was principally deſigned, to check and moderate, if poſſible, before it be too late, their over-liberal and hazardous conceſſions and ſurrendry of the main barriers of the Conſtitution, as ſettled at the *Revolution*, upon the precarious principle of *expediency*, and conciliation of *the Roman Catholics* of IRELAND:

"*Commendo vos amori Dei et* ODIO PAPISMI."

July 23, 1804. DR. HOLLAND.

FIRST LETTER.

Nov. 15, 1803.

Non ego PACEM *nolo, ſed pacis nomine*, bellum involutum *reformido.*
CICERO.

"I do not diſlike PEACE, but under the name of Peace I dread a *ſmothered War.*"

Rev. Sir,

I HAVE peruſed your *Paſtoral Exhortation*, publiſhed in the Dublin Evening Poſt of the 18th ult. with mingled ſentiments of approbation and regret. Every good Chriſtian, indeed every loyal ſubject of every ſect and party, muſt approve your pious and patriotic Exhortation to your Flock, "to recommend our moſt gracious Sovereign and theſe kingdoms to the protection of Heaven, and to preſerve them (particularly this our dear country) from the deſigns of our common enemy by whom we are menaced;" your earneſt injunctions, "to beſeech God that he may ſo ſtrengthen their loyalty as to enable them to exemplify it, by a determined, unanimous, and vigorous oppoſition to any invading enemy;" and your powerful diſſuaſive againſt rebellion, "that if Roman Catholics be commanded by God and their Church, to obey *infidel* lawful rulers (as they certainly are), they cannot poſſibly excuſe their rebellion to a *Chriſtian* Prince," eſpecially "a Chriſtian Prince," as you juſtly obſerve of his preſent Majeſty, "dignified by the exerciſe of the moſt amiable and exemplary virtues; who perſecutes no claſs of his people, and has extended his paternal affection and protection to his Roman Catholic ſubjects," &c. Such topics, indeed, are highly commendable, and peculiarly ſeaſonable in theſe perilous times of ſmothered rebellion, and menaced invaſion.

But while I thus freely commend what is praiſeworthy, I cannot but expreſs my regret and concern, that "an Exhortation, addreſſed principally," as you preface, "to the *lower orders* of your communion," ſhould introduce, rather irrelevantly and unſeaſonably, I apprehend, difficult and delicate points of religious and political controverſy between the *Romiſh* and *Reformed* Churches, ill adapted to *their* cognizance, even in times of profound peace and tranquillity.

Waving your tacit aſſumption, that the Commandments of God and of the *Church of Rome*, touching obedience to *Heretical* and *Infidel* Rulers, are invariably the ſame; and that the precepts of the primitive Fathers, *Tertullian* and *Chryſoſtom*, &c. and conduct of the primitive Chriſtians, have been uniformly adhered to by thoſe of the *Romiſh* perſuaſion; which, to diſcuſs critically and hiſtorically, would open a field of controverſy much too wide for the narrow limits of this Letter, I ſhall confine myſelf to two points: 1ſt, your recrimination of the principles and practices of the *firſt Reformers;* and, 2d, your reprobation of the *oaths* and *declarations of allegiance* required from Roman Catholics; becauſe to paſs over theſe without animadverſion, would be to betray the cauſe of the REFORMATION, and of the PROTESTANT SUCCESSION in this realm.

You maintain, Sir, "that the doctrines of the firſt Reformers in England and Germany, *Wickliffe* and *Huſs*, were criminal and ſeditious; that they were condemned by the Council of *Conſtance;* that an inſurrection of the populace took place in England in conſequence of Wickliffe's

preaching in the reign of Richard II; and that the tumults and bloodſhed occaſioned by ſimilar doctrines preached by Huſs and his diſciples in the kingdom of Bohemia are recorded by the contemporary hiſtorians."

The Father of the Reformation, "England's Morning Star," the illuſtrious *John Wickliffe*, was born about the year 1324. He firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his defence of the Univerſity of Oxford againſt the *Mendicant Friars*, who from the time of their firſt ſettlement there, A. D. 1230, introduced diſorder and licentiouſneſs, and claimed an exemption from the ſtatutes of the Univerſity, alledging that they were only ſubject to the juriſdiction of the Pope. On which occaſion he publiſhed a ſatirical treatiſe on *Able Beggary*, which had a powerful effect on the public mind, and laid the foundation of his progreſſive attacks on the corruptions of the Church and See of Rome, and of all that virulence and calumny of the "contemporary" *Monkiſh* hiſtorians, whom you, Sir, appear only to have conſulted and implicitly followed in your caricature.

The following early and honourable teſtimonies to his character are well worthy of your ſerious attention, on the equitable principle of *audi alteram partem:*

A reſpectable Iriſh hiſtorian, who flouriſhed about the time of the introduction of the Reformation into Ireland, A. D 1535, *John Bale*, Biſhop of Oſſory, in his valuable work, *De Scriptoribus Britannicis, Centur.* 4 *Vit.* 1, delivers the following encomium on Wickliffe:

Illum Æternus Pater, anno poſt ſervatorem natum 1360, *per ſuum ſuſcitavit ſpiritum, ut in mediis impiorum locuſtarum tenebris pro ſua ſtaret veritate magnanimus Jeſu Chriſti pugil; ſieretque adverſus Anti-Chriſtos invictiſſimum ejus ætatis organum.*

"The eternal Father raiſed him up by his Spirit in the year after our Saviour's nativity, 1360, to ſtand forth a magnanimous champion of Jeſus Chriſt, in defence of his truth, amid the darkneſs of impious locuſts; (Rev. ix, 2—3) and to become the moſt invincible inſtrument of that age againſt Anti-Chriſts."

And the very learned Engliſh divine, *Henry Wharton*, who flouriſhed near the cloſe of the 17th century, in his Appendix to *Cave*'s Hiſtory, thus elegantly deſcribes him and his doctrines:

Claruit anno 1360, *quo circiter tempore, ingraveſcentes ævi ſuperſtitiones, immanem Eccleſiæ jam diu inolitam Romani Pontificis tyrannidem, erronea fidei dogmata in ſcholis paſſim recepta, et turpiſſimam vitiorum labem ab omnibus admiſſam, à pleriſque etiam defenſam, voce ac ſcriptis acriter oppugnare capit; præſertim vero regiæ poteſtatis atque ordinis Eccleſiaſtici jura contra immanes Pontificis Romani et Fratrum mendicantium uſurpationes, conſtanter pariter ac erudite propugnavit.*

"He began to be famous in the year 1360; about which time he firſt ſharply attacked, both in his preaching and writings, the grievouſly increaſing ſuperſtitions of the age—the enormous tyranny of the Pope of Rome over the Church, now grown inveterate—the erroneous dogmas of faith univerſally received in the ſchools—and that moſt ſcandalous depravity of vicious morals, admitted by all, and even defended by moſt; and eſpecially, he maintained with equal conſtancy and erudition, the *Rights of the Royal Authority* and of the *Eccleſiaſtical Order* againſt the *enormous uſurpations of the Pope of Rome*, and of the *Mendicant Friars.*"

And the early Engliſh hiſtorian, *Daniel*, born A. D. 1562, though ra-

ther prejudiced againſt Wickliffe, yet vindicates him from any ſhare in *Tyler*'s inſurrection, and the other rebellions of Richard IId's reign.

"This rebellion (of Tyler's) hath ſince been imputed to Wickliffe and his followers' principles, of whom *John Ball* (a ringleader therein) is ſaid to have been one; but that this is an aſperſion invented by *Monkiſh* hiſtorians to blacken the Proteſtant doctrines, may appear from hence, that the rebels were very cruel to ſome of the chief followers of Wickliffe, as the Duke of Lancaſter; and that Wickliffe himſelf, then reſiding upon his parſonage of Lutterworth, in Leiceſterſhire, was never called in queſtion for this rebellion. And though John Ball, who was a *Franciſcan* Friar, was ſaid to be impriſoned by the Archbiſhop for preaching Wickliffe's doctrine, yet it is probable his diſcontents, not opinions, made him forward to promote theſe diſturbances of the nation."

"This ſeditious Prieſt had been a priſoner in Maidſtone gaol—and when ſet free by the rabble, who roſe to oppoſe the collection of the poll tax, A. D. 1381, excited them by his harangues to proceed from riot to rebellion; taking this rhyme for his text:

"When *Adam* delv'd and *Eve* ſpan,
Who was then a *Gentleman?*"

And *Jack Straw* ingenuouſly confeſſed at his execution, "that if they had been ſucceſsful in their enterprize, they intended to have ſlain the King, Noblemen, Biſhops, Monks, Canons, Parſons, and all the richeſt and wealthieſt of the Commons, and ſeized upon their poſſeſſions; leaving only the *Friars Mendicants* to adminiſter ſacraments and divine ſervice: and when they had thus gotten all into their hands, they would have eſtabliſhed new laws for the government of the realm, which they had contrived to divide among their leaders." CRITO.

SECOND LETTER.

November 22, 1803.

——— *Incedis per ignes,*
Cineri ſuppoſitos doloſo. HOR.

"You walk through the midſt of embers,
"Hid under treacherous aſhes."

Rev. Sir,

WICKLIFFE maintained, 1ſt, That the Scripture was the only rule of Faith and Practice; 2d, That the worſt Hereſy conſiſted in a bad life; 3d, He denied the doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, or the real Preſence; 4th, He maintained that the Pope was *Anti-Chriſt*, and the Church of Rome *the Synagogue of Satan*; 5th, He denied the ſupremacy of the See or Church of Rome; 6th, He maintained that the Church was dependant on the State, and ought to be reformed thereby; 7th, He contended that the Clergy ought to poſſeſs no Eſtates; 8th, He denied the merit of Monaſtic Vows, and condemned the Celibacy of the Clergy; 9th, He maintained that the begging Friars were a general nuiſance, and ought not to be ſupported; 10th, That the numerous ceremonies of the Church were prejudicial to true piety; 11th, He condemned the Sanctuaries for Criminals, to ſcreen them from the Civil Juriſdiction; and, 12th, the ſcandalous traffic, of Indulgences for crimes.

Beſides theſe, he aſſerted, 13th, that Oaths were unlawful; 14th, that Dominion was founded in Grace; 15th, that every thing was ſubject to fate or deſtiny; and, 16th, that all men were predeſtinated to eternal ſalvation or reprobation.

Such were the leading doctrines of Wickliffe, condemned by the Council of *Conſtance*, as *falſe*, *erroneous*, and *heretical*, in their cenſure of 45 Articles, A D. 1415; and of 260 more in the courſe of the ſame Seſſion. See *Lenfant Hiſtoire du Conceil de Conſtance.* Whether theſe doctrines were "*criminal* and *ſeditious*," as you alledge, let the public decide. That the four laſt, indeed, were objectionable, will not be denied; and that from *them*, but not "from the *whole* of his doctrines, Wickliffe appears to have been ſtrongly tinctured with *enthuſiaſm*," according to the unqualified cenſure of the hiſtorian Hume.

So high was Wickliffe in the confidence of Government, that in A D. 1364, the Biſhop of Bangor and he were ſent at the head of an Embaſſy to Rome on the grievance of *Reſervations*, to reclaim the patronage of Eccleſiaſtical preferments in England, uſurped from the Crown by the See of Rome; and ſo zealous was he to promote reformation of morals at home, that when he ſaw the Biſhops' miniſters tolerate all lewdneſs for money, he excited the Mayor of London, John Northampton, A.D. 1382, to ſuppreſs the debauchery of the citizens, by impriſoning and puniſhing offenders of both ſexes; notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Biſhops, claiming to their own courts the cognizance of ſuch immor lities. "Such," (as Daniel remarks) was "the *uneven zeal* of the Churchmen of thoſe times, againſt *opinions* and *doctrines*, more than *vicious practices!*"

Wickliffe died in 1384, but the virulence and uncharitableneſs of his enemies purſued and perſecuted him after death: not ſatisfied with condemning his doctrines, and burning his books, by the unanimous decree of the Council of Conſtance, A.D. 1428, his bones were taken out of his grave, burnt, and the aſhes caſt into an adjoining brook, called *Swift*, "*which carrying them into the ſea, was a preſage of the ſpreading of his doctrine into all the world.*"

JOHN HUSS, the celebrated Bohemian Reformer, was born A.D. 1376, and early imbibed the opinions of Wickliffe, in conſequence of the intercourſe between that country and England, occaſioned by the marriage of Anne, ſiſter of the King of Bohemia, with Richard II, in the year 1381. He began to be famous in the year 1405, for preaching againſt the errors of the Church of Rome; and oppoſing the Bull of Pope John XXIII, when recommending a cruſade againſt Ladiſlaus IV, King of Hungary. But "the mortal ſin never to be forgiven," was his Libel entitled the *Six Errors*—1ſt, The preſumption of the Prieſts in profeſſing to *make* the body of Chriſt, in the Maſs; 2d, The declaration cuſtomary at that time, *I believe in the Pope, I believe in the Saints, I believe in the Virgin;* 3d, The abuſe of *Indulgences* and of *Abſolution* by the Prieſts, in remitting the guilt and puniſhment of Sins, at their own diſcretion; 4th, The *implicit obedience* of the Clergy to their ſuperiors, required by the See of Rome; 5th, The abuſe of *excommunication*, as *effectual*, whether juſtly or unjuſtly inflicted; and, 6th, *Simony*, with which he charged the whole Church, and maintained to be a *hereſy* of the worſt kind.

For theſe, and other obnoxious articles extracted from his celebrated Treatiſe on *the Church*, was Huſs cited to appear before the Council of

Conſtance, condemned and burnt as an *obſtinate Heretic*, after a long and ſevere impriſonment, July 6, A.D. 1415, in expreſs violation of the Emperor Sigiſmund's ſafe conduct or paſſport, which he brought with him to Conſtance, dated at Spires, Oct. 18, 1414, promiſing him a *ſafe return* from the Council in the following terms:

Omni prorſus impedimento remoto, tranſire, ſtare, morari et REDIRE *libere permittatis; ſibique et ſuis, dum opus fuerit, de ſecuro et ſalvo velitis et debeatis providere conductu ad honorem et reverentiam noſtræ regiæ Majeſtatis.*—"And *without any impediment whatſoever*, ye ſhall permit himſelf, his ſervants, horſes, and baggage, *freely to paſs, ſtay, ſojourn, and* RETURN; and ye ſhall be willing and bound *to provide him and his with a ſecure and ſafe conduct, while neceſſary;* in honour and reverence of our Royal Majeſty."

Sigiſmund, at firſt, received the account of Huſs's impriſonment with the higheſt indignation, and ſent expreſs orders to his Ambaſſador to enlarge the priſoner, or, in caſe of reſiſtance, to break open the jail. However, ſoon after his arrival at Conſtance, Dec. 24, 1414, he was perſuaded to believe that *the Council could abſolve him from a promiſe made to a Heretic;* and he abandoned the unfortunate victim of their bigotry to his fate; who, the day before his condemnation, taxed the Emperor to his face with *breach of faith*, in preſence of the whole Council:—"I did every thing right and proper on *my* part; and therefore came I to the Council of my own accord, truſting to the public faith of the *Emperor*, who is here preſent."—While he uttered theſe words he ſtedfaſtly looked at Sigiſmund, who could not forbear *bluſhing* with ſhame.—In alluſion to which, when Charles V in the next century was ſolicited by the Diet of Worms to arreſt Luther likewiſe in violation of his paſſport, the Emperor refuſed, with this ſarcaſtic reproof—"I do not chuſe to bluſh with my predeceſſor Sigiſmund."—And accordingly Luther returned home from Worms, without a hair of his head ſinged.

The charge of *ſedition*, and of exciting the people to arms againſt their Sovereign, then urged againſt Huſs before the Council, and now repeated by you, Sir, he completely refuted. Nothing, indeed, could be proved againſt him, but that in a ſermon, by no means temporiſing or pandering to the humours of the multitude, he exhorted them, in the Apoſtle's language, *to put on the whole armour of God:* and the eſtimation in which he was held by Winceſlaus, King of Bohemia, (although that wiley Prince, whoſe favourite maxim was *temporibus inſidiari*—"to lie in wait for the times"—gave him no effectual ſupport), and the unbounded love and veneration of the Bohemian nobility, for himſelf and his memory, moſt ſtrongly corroborate the falſehood of the charge; and if the Huſſites took up arms afterwards, it was to oppoſe the ſucceſſion of Sigiſmund to the Crown of Bohemia: the baſe betrayer of Huſs, and the bigotted partiſan of the See of Rome, eſpecially after Pope Martin V had written a letter to the Huſſites, "charging them with many and great *Hereſies*, and threatening, *if they continued obſtinate, to cut them off from the Church, and give them as a prey to their enemies.*"

Beſides the Emperor's paſſport, Huſs, when going of his own accord to vindicate his doctrines at Conſtance, obtained a certificate from the Biſhop of Nazareth, Inquiſitor General of Hereſy in Bohemia, declaring, "that as far as he had any opportunity of knowing (and he had many), *Huſs had*

never ſhewn the leaſt inclination to impugn any article of the Chriſtian Faith."

And moſt highly honourable to the character of Huſs was the teſtimony of the Catholic Univerſity of Prague, in "the unanimous appeal of the Rector of the Univerſity, and the whole Convocation, to all the Sons of the Holy Mother, the Catholic Church, diſperſed throughout the whole world:

"The life of John Huſs," ſay they, "was ſpent conſtantly, from his tender years, under our immediate inſpection; and ſuch was the purity of his morals, that not one of us, in this public declaration, can juſtly lay a ſingle fault to his charge.—From a powerful principle of charity, *he probed to the bottom the prevailing vices of the age*, eſpecially of *the proud, covetous, and opulent Clergy;* converting the antiquated and forgotten remedies of *the Scriptures* into a new and unheard-of motive to reformation: and, treading in the ſteps of the Apoſtles, he uſed all his efforts to reſtore the *morals* of the *primitive Church* among the *Clergy* and *People.*

"Theſe have we deemed neceſſary to ſet before the eyes of all faithful Chriſtians, in order that they may not, *at the hazard of their ſoul, calumniate* this juſt man, nor any of his followers. It being our only wiſh, that as he approved himſelf among us an *upright and bright example in all things*, ſo he may be reckoned among faithful Chriſtians *a witneſs of the Catholic Truth.*"

CRITO.

THIRD LETTER.

December 1, 1803.

——— VIR BONUS *eſt quis?*
Qui conſulta Patrum qui Leges, Juraque ſervat. HOR.

———"Who is the *good Citizen?*
Whoſoever obſerves the Decrees of the Senate,
The Laws, and Conſtitutions."

Rev Sir,

I PROCEED now to the ſecond article of intended animadverſion, namely, your reprobation of *the Oaths and Declarations of Allegiance*, required of Roman Catholics, couched in the following terms:

"We have ſolemnly *abjured* the odious tenets *imputed* to us; after the example of the primitive Chriſtians, who were likewiſe miſrepreſented.—What, but *our refuſal to take oaths and ſign declarations, which we conſider contrary to the faith delivered to the Saints*, excludes Us from ſharing with our fellow ſubjects all the offices, privileges, and honours of the State? Can there be a more convincing proof of our *conſcientious* determination to *obſerve the oaths we have taken*, than our *refuſal to take other oaths which our conſcience condemns?*"

This dark, ambiguous, and diſcontented declaration, ill accords with thoſe cordial profeſſions of Loyal Allegiance to his preſent Majeſty, of attachment to the preſent Conſtitution, and of '*charity*" and benevolence to your "neighbours" of every perſuaſion, which ſtand in the fore-ground of your *Paſtoral Addreſs*, and of your extracts from the *General Catechiſm:* and as it is fraught with matters of the moſt ſerious intereſt and awakening conſideration to the exiſting Government, and to your Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, I ſhall endeavour to analyze it as concisely as I can, impreſ-

d myſelf with a lively and awful ſenſe of the profound NATIONAL importance of the enquiry.

In order to enable my readers of *every* deſcription "to judge righteous judgment" in this caſe, to aſcertain the points at iſſue between you and me, Sir, I ſhall ſketch an outline of the act itſelf, which is the object of your reprobation. This act, the ſacred *palladium* of the Britiſh Conſtitution, paſſed in the year 1774, the 13th and 14th Geo. III, chap. 35, is entitled, "An act to enable his Majeſty's ſubjects, of *whatever perſuaſion*, to teſtify their allegiance to him." The preamble recites:

"Whereas many of his Majeſty's ſubjects in this kingdom are *deſirous* to teſtify their loyalty and allegiance to his Majeſty, and their abhorrence of certain doctrines *imputed* to them; and to remove *jealouſies* which hereby have ſubſiſted for a length of time between them and others of his loyal ſubjects; but upon account of their *religious tenets*, are, by the laws now in being, prevented from giving public aſſurances of ſuch allegiance, and of their real principles, and good will and affection towards their fellow ſubjects: In order to give ſuch perſons an opportunity of teſtifying *their allegiance to his Majeſty*, and *good will towards the preſent Conſtitution of this kingdom*, and to *promote peace and induſtry* among the inhabitants thereof, be it enacted, &c."

And the act itſelf conſiſts of three parts:

I. The *juratory* or promiſſory clauſes:

1. "To be *faithful* and bear *true allegiance* to his preſent Majeſty, and to *defend* him to the utmoſt againſt all conſpiracies and attempts againſt his perſon, crown, and dignity."

2. "To *diſcloſe* all treaſons and traitorous conſpiracies againſt him and his heirs."

3. "To *maintain the ſucceſſion of the Crown in his Majeſty's family*, againſt the Pretender, or any other perſon or perſons."

II. The *abjuratory* or renunciatory clauſes:

4. "That it is *lawful* to murder or deſtroy any perſon or perſons whatſoever, for or under the pretence of their being *heretics*."

5. "That *no faith is to be kept with heretics*."

6. "That Princes *excommunicated* by the Pope and Council, or by any authority of the See of Rome, or by any authority whatſoever, may be depoſed and murdered by their ſubjects, or by any perſon whatſoever."

III. The *declaratory* or profeſſory clauſes:

7. "That the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, ſtate, or potentate, neither hath, nor ought to have, any *temporal* or *civil juriſdiction*, &c. within this realm."

8. "That this declaration is made, in the *plain and ordinary ſenſe* of the words of this oath, without any evaſion, equivocation, or mental reſervation whatever; and without any *diſpenſation* or *abſolution* therefrom, already granted, or to be granted, by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, or any perſon whatever."

Such is the tenor and ſuch are the clauſes of this gracious and accommodating act of the Father of his People, and his faithful Parliament, tendered to all his ſubjects indiſcriminately, *Proteſtant* as well as *Romiſh*, from a lively wiſh and anxious deſire "to remove long-ſubſiſting *jealouſies*," and to conciliate and reconcile citizens of every deſcription to the preſent *Conſtitution*, and to *each other!* I will appeal to the candour of every ho-

neſt, intelligent, and conſcientious *Romaniſt*, whether the preamble be not worthy of an enlightened Legiſlature; and whether the Act itſelf be not a neceſſary and indiſpenſible ſafeguard and fence thrown around the Conſtitution; provided "the tenets" contained therein be even of *doubtful imputation*? ſo intimated by the delicacy of the framers; wiſhing to give as little offence as poſſible (conſiſtent with the ſafety of the ſtate) to the "*religious opinions*" of any ſect or perſuaſion; and, therefore, not deciding whether theſe "tenets" be juſtly "*imputed*" or not; ſagely concluding, that if *unjuſtly*, no Roman Catholic could heſitate "to take the oath and ſign the declaration," expreſſive of his abhorrence of ſuch unconſtitutional, "odious," and abominable tenets; but if *juſtly*, that the holders of ſuch ought not to be truſted, but excluded from ſharing with their loyal fellow ſubjects, *all* the offices, privileges, and honours of the ſtate, "to which they muſt neceſſarily be preſumed to be diſaffected and hoſtile, by their refuſal to *clear* up their real principles," as required; and, perhaps, determined either to undermine or overthrow it, as occaſion may ſerve.

And here, I muſt, in juſtice to *former* Legiſlators, take the liberty of rectifying a miſtake, which has inadvertently crept into the preamble: The Roman Catholics were never "*prevented*" by the foregoing laws, prior to 1774, from giving public aſſurances of their allegiance and real principles; for the oath of allegiance ever ſince the *Revolution* conſiſted only of theſe words:

"*I, A. B. do ſolemnly promiſe and ſwear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majeſty, King* ——. *So help me* GOD." And accordingly, Lord Kingſland, Lord Dillon, Lord Cahir, and Lord Netterville, with ſeveral others, took only this oath of allegiance in the year 1715, (See *Lords' Journals*) without taking the *other oaths*, and ſigning the *declaration:* Theſe additional guards, introduced in the ſubſequent oaths of 1768 and 1774, were required, we preſume, by the exigency of the times.

That this laſt Act, however, met the approbation of *many* loyal and intelligent Roman Catholics, at the time it paſſed, cannot be denied by *Doctor Troy*, notwithſtanding his ſweeping cenſure of the whole. Among others, who were then "*deſirous* to teſtify their loyalty and allegiance to his Majeſty," was that honeſt, liberal-minded, and reſpectable Romiſh prelate, Doctor *Butler*, Titular Archbiſhop of Caſhel, who, when others (and among them, perhaps, Doctor Troy, then Titular Biſhop of Oſſory) "*heſitated* (as he obſerves) to conſider the nature of that engagement they were deſired to enter into, and the foundation of thoſe principles they were deſired to diſclaim," took an active part himſelf, with his five ſuffragan Biſhops, to explain to their flock the *propriety* of ſuch a promiſe, in the following declaration:

"*July* 15, 1775.

"We the Chiefs of the Roman Catholic Clergy of the Province of Munſter, having met together near Cork, have unanimouſly agreed, that the *Oath of Allegiance*, propoſed by Act of Parliament, Anno, 13°, et 14°, Geo. III, Regis, *contains nothing contrary to the principles of the Roman Catholic Religion.*"—See Doctor Butler's Juſtification.

CRITO.

[*To be continued.*]

TO GEORGE BYNG, ESQ. M.P.

Sir,

FOR the information of thoſe who are not acquainted with your character, it may not be improper to beſtow a comment on one part of your late addreſs of thanks to the freeholders of Middleſex.

You are pleaſed there to aſſert, "The cry of Church and King in danger was ſet up by two deſcriptions of perſons by the ſmall knot of clerical hirelings at the Freemaſons' Tavern, whoſe intemperate fury and libellous proceedings would prejudice, if poſſible, the eſtabliſhment to which they belong."

With a view to refute this miſerable falſehood, and, if poſſible, ſhame you into a regard for the ſacredneſs of truth, I will ſtate the ſimple fact. At the meeting of freeholders in the intereſt of Sir Chriſtopher Baynes, holden at Freemaſons' Tavern on the Friday preceding the election, I obſerved but two clergymen, though more might be preſent, of whom not one addreſſed the chairman, or took the ſmalleſt part in the diſcuſſion, except myſelf. And what was that part? I appeal to every perſon preſent, whether I did not put down "the cry of Church in danger," and deprecate it in explicit and unqualified terms. I had the ſatisfaction to find that my ſentiments met the warm concurrence of the numerous and reſpectable meeting, and have ſince received from all quarters ſuch flattering expreſſions of approbation, as to leave me no cauſe of regret for having obtruded myſelf the firſt time on the notice of a political aſſembly; and I cannot help thinking that my addreſs contributed more effectually to preſerve the peace of the county, than you have either the head or the heart to contribute, were you to repreſent the county for half a century to come.

I am ready to acknowledge that one main object of my attendance was to aſſiſt in excluding you from a ſeat which, in my judgment, you have filled with ſo little ſatisfaction to the county and credit to yourſelf. My objection to you, Sir, is no ſecret. And if your boſom throbs with reſentment "againſt the ſmall knot of clerical hirelings," I am afraid this letter is not calculated to allay it. You once aſked me the reaſon of my objection to you: I will now, Sir, gratify you with an explanation.

At the general election of 1802, I ſtood the firſt day in front of the huſtings, which gave me an opportunity of remarking the demeanor of thoſe gentlemen who were upon it. Your's, Sir, did not eſcape my obſervation, and, I aſſure you, left on my mind an indelible impreſſion. Alderman Curtis came up to you in his uſual frank manner, and offered you his hand, wiſhing you ſucceſs: you ſhook hands with him, and accepted his good wiſhes with every appearance of cordial good will; when the next moment you turned your face from him towards the friends of Sir F. Burdett, with averted eyes, and the moſt diſtorted features, expreſſive of contempt and ſcorn of the Alderman, I ever ſaw. I had promiſed you my vote, and therefore gave it; but from that circumſtance I formed my opinion of you, eſpecially, too, when immediately after you had been playing off your vulgar tricks to cajole the friends of Sir Francis Burdett, I happened to catch your eye, and you deigned to *honour* me with one of thoſe *winks* for which you are ſo diſtinguiſhed and gracious. Smiles to cajole *me*, too. In the deſcription of a finiſhed hypocrite and a low time-ſerving candidate for popular favour, I am now at no loſs for an example. My opinion of you has been confirmed by your conduct at every ſubſequent election. You then

ſet out with ſolemn profeſſions of neutrality; but how are they conſiſtent with the treatment of the clergyman in your neighbourhood, from whom, becauſe he gave his ſecond vote to Mr. Mainwaring, a *gentleman* whom you well know contrived to get back into his poſſeſſion his check of three guineas, and tear it in pieces, for which, by the by, there is one clergyman at leaſt who would have indicted that *gentleman?* How was your profeſſion of ſtrict neutrality conſiſtent with the profeſſion of good wiſhes which you made in perſon for the ſucceſs of Sir Francis Burdett in 1804 to his committee, before you purſued your famous journey to the north, when you left your brother behind, who canvaſſed in the moſt public manner for the Baronet? And yet, Sir, how were your former predilections for the Baronet reconcilable with your abſolute but ungrateful rejection of him in 1806? Why, Sir, you found the ſtream of popularity run againſt him. Your party were in power. He publiſhed a libel, forſooth, not againſt the "beſt of Kings," but againſt the "beſt of Patriots." For a libel againſt the former he would eaſily have been forgiven, but his libel againſt the latter was an inexpiable offence. What a figure you then exhibited on the huſtings will never be forgotten by thoſe who ſaw you.

He gave you the appropriate epithet of *Summer Inſect*. He took the fluttering, trembling animalcule between his thumb nails, and might have cruſhed it; but his heart relented with pity, and let it fly to enjoy the ſun at the return of ſummer. I know he expreſſed a real concern for the ſituation of the inſignificant inſect, and reſolved, out of tender compaſſion, not to inflict another wound upon it the remainder of the election. The Baronet on this occaſion, as on every other, kept his word.

I have no doubt you give yourſelf abundant credit for your dexterous praiſe of the clergy in general; but believe me, Sir, they to a man diſclaim your compliments. You make them ready to ſuſpect their loyalty to the beſt of Kings, attachment to the Conſtitution, and affection to the Church. Allow me to aſk, what have they done to merit the virtual inſult which your inſidious commendation conveys? Have they teſtified any approbation of the conduct of your party? Have they paſſed any vote of thanks for bringing their Sovereign to the bar of the Houſe of Commons? Have they applauded the indecent menace which your friends flung in his face? Have they joined in any ſupport of thoſe meaſures which threatened to deſtroy the Proteſtant aſcendancy, and lay the Church of England in aſhes? What acts of diſloyalty, treachery, and fraud, have marked their conduct, that their character ſhould receive the brand of your eulogium? No, Sir, take it back. We beg leave to be included in the number of thoſe whoſe boſoms glow with gratitude and affection for a gracious Prince, whoſe unſhaken magnanimity in the hour of danger has delivered himſelf and his people from the yoke of degradation which the late Miniſters, in all the plenitude of power and confidence of ſucceſs, were preparing; when royalty was to be ſhorn of its beams, the people of their liberties, and upon the ruins of both an oligarchy was to be eſtabliſhed, the moſt frightful and abhorrent to the feelings of Engliſhmen. The clergy are a peaceable but loyal body, and ready on all occaſions to ſhew their deteſtation of that conduct and thoſe principles for which his Majeſty diſmiſſed your friends from his councils.

I am, Sir, with *due* regard, your humble ſervant,

THOMAS THIRLWALL.

Mile End, June 3, 1807.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW.

Sir,

IT is very hard that a quiet man, who does not court notoriety, ſhould be dragged before the public, and made anſwerable, not for his own literary tranſgreſſions, but for thoſe of others.

It was my misfortune, many years ago, to be confounded (in a paltry publication, under the name, I believe, of "Characters of Living Authors,") with a *Dr. Grant*, who, I think, was ſome time curate of Shoreditch*. In your Review for June laſt, p. 142, another *Dr. Grant* is noticed, whoſe writings I find are attributed to me. Now, as your mentioning that name has, with many, made me anſwerable for matters in which I have no concern, I claim the privilege of ſaying thus publicly that I have never ſeen the production of *that Dr. Grant* noticed by you; that I never heard of it till I read your Review; and that, whatever its merit or demerit may be, the praiſe or blame is all his own.

Your inſertion of this will oblige your conſtant reader, and moſt humble ſervant,

D. GRANT.

No. 19, *London ſtreet, Fitzroy-ſquare.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW.

ENQUIRY INTO PLACES AND PENSIONS.

Sir,

A LIST has lately been publiſhed, in the daily papers, of places and penſions held by various noblemen and their relations, from which the public have the ſatisfaction of learning that all the talents diſplayed by our great ſtateſmen have not been unrewarded; and, alſo, of learning that, however parties may differ in ſentiment about the intereſts of the country, there is one point in which they all agree,----an invariable and unremitted attention to their own intereſts and thoſe of their friends.

Among the good things ſaid to be enjoyed by Lord Mulgrave and his family, I noticed the appointment of Agent for Trinidad; repreſented as being held by C. T. Maling, Eſq., father-in-law to that nobleman, with a ſalary of 600*l* per annum. Now, in juſtice to this gentleman and the noble Lord to whom he is allied, I think it right to correct this error; and to declare that Mr. Maling never has received, and in all probability never will receive, from the iſland of Trinidad one ſhilling of the 600*l* per annum ſo imputed to him. To prove what I aſſert, I ſhall relate ſome circumſtances connected with his appointment to that agency, and draw ſome inferences from them; the application of which to many other gentlemen, whoſe names may be found in the Red Book, would be highly advantageous to the intereſts of the public.

In contemplation of the ceſſion of Trinidad to the crown of Great Britain, Lord Buckinghamſhire, then Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, with that provident inſight into futurity which characteriſes the great ſtateſman, wrote to the governor, ſtating how important it was that the inhabitants of that colony ſhould appoint ſome perſon of character and

* Of whoſe writings I *then* knew, and *to this moment* know nothing.

abilities, through whom they might be enabled to make the different communications and repreſentations to his Majeſty's miniſters, which could not fail to be neceſſary or deſirable in forwarding the buſineſs of the iſland through the ſeveral departments of government; and intimating that nothing could tend to facilitate the object of ſuch an appointment, more ſurely, than the nomination of a perſon who was not only converſant with buſineſs, but perſonally acceptable to the King's miniſters. His Lordſhip then mentioned the ſatisfaction it would afford him, if, through the influence of the governor, the inhabitants of the colony could be induced to appoint as their agent a certain gentleman, who had moſt fully merited the deſcription he had given of the perſon beſt ſuited to the important charge of the intereſts of the iſland in Great Britain; modeſtly obſerving, that he ſhould by no means expect for him, in the preſent infant ſtate of the trade and produce of the colony, a remuneration equal to that which its increaſed property, and conſequent increaſe of buſineſs, might be ſuppoſed to warrant; but, at the ſame time, truſting that the iſland would not fix his ſalary at leſs than a certain ſpecified ſum.

Though this application was of a very unuſual nature (the choice of the agents reſting ſolely with the legiſlatures of the different colonies), yet the Council of Trinidad, on the letter being laid before them, taking it for granted that no man could ſo well appreciate the talents and qualifications requiſite in their agent as the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, and feeling highly grateful for this inſtance of his kind and vigilant attention to the intereſts of the iſland, appointed the gentleman whom he had recommended. However, before circumſtances permitted the inhabitants to derive thoſe benefits which they expected from the exerciſe of his ſuper-eminent talents, he was promoted to a more lucrative ſituation, and the office of Agent for Trinidad again became vacant. Lord Buckinghamſhire, ever attentive to the good of the colonies under his charge, then ſelected Mr. Maling, father-in-law to Lord Mulgrave, as the moſt proper perſon to fill the ſituation; and his Lordſhip's recommendation was a ſecond time accepted.

The inhabitants of Trinidad now flattered themſelves that they had ſecured the ſervices of a man endowed with every qualification neceſſary to promote their intereſts; of a man, whoſe intimate acquaintance with every commercial and colonial ſubject enabled him to enforce ſuch repreſentations as they might have occaſion to make to his Majeſty's miniſters, with every argument that either general knowledge could ſuggeſt or local information furniſh. They flattered themſelves that the ſtanding Committee of Weſt India Planters and Merchants would thankfully acknowledge the acceſſion of talent which they had derived from the Agent of Trinidad becoming one of their members; that, at their different meetings, new light would be thrown on every ſubject, in which the intereſts of the colonies were concerned, by his communications; and that new remedies would be pointed out for every difficulty under which they laboured, by his intelligence.

Judge, then, what was their ſurpriſe and diſappointment at learning that this Mr. Maling, the man picked out of the whole population of Great Britain, by the diſcerning eye of Lord Buckinghamſhire, as the moſt proper agent whom he could recommend to their choice, inſtead of reſiding in London, where alone he could be of any ſervice to their intereſts or diſ

charge any of the duties of his office, lived in quiet retirement on his own eſtate in Northumberland: that, ſo far from being poſſeſſed of the commercial and colonial knowledge neceſſary to qualify him to act in the capacity of their agent, he knew no more of Trinidad than he knew of the moon; indeed leſs, for the moon he muſt often have ſeen, but Trinidad he had never ſeen; that, had he preſented himſelf to the Committee of Weſt India Planters and Merchants, to take his ſeat among them as one of the colonial agents, and aſſiſt in their deliberations, he would have been found totally ignorant of every topic that could have come under diſcuſſion; and that, in fact, he poſſeſſed no other qualification for the office than the very ſingular one, adverted to in Lord Buckinghamſhire's letter, of being perſonally acceptable to the King's miniſters, or, in other words, being father-in-law to Lord Mulgrave. The manners of England, as well as thoſe of Turkey, were, it ſeems, not unaptly deſcribed by Mr. Coleman, in the dramatic romance of Blue Beard, when he made one of his characters ſing——

"'Tis a very fine thing to be father-in-law
"To a very magnificent three-tail'd Baſhaw."

The Council of Trinidad never, I believe, heard from Mr. Maling, excepting when he wrote for his ſalary; which they declined paying him, remembering that the word agent is derived from the verb, *ago*, *agere*, which ſignifies to do or to act: and juſtly thinking, that the man who did nothing, deſerved nothing. When circumſtances made an efficient agent neceſſary, they ſent home their attorney general on a ſpecial miſſion, who ſpent much time to no purpoſe, in endeavouring to procure an audience of Mr. Windham: but that gentleman was ſo fully occupied, firſt in framing his wonder-working bill for the better defence of the nation, next, in planning expeditions with the renowned Colonel Crauford, and then in canvaſſing the Norfolk voters, that after dancing attendance, and leaving his cards at his levee, for ſeveral months together, the agent for Trinidad was at laſt obliged to leave England, without having been able to obtain a ſingle interview with the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department. Previous to his departure, the Governor and Council appointed him a ſucceſſor, without, on this occaſion, conſulting Lord Buckinghamſhire.

The preceding narrative will ſhew, that Lord Mulgrave is unjuſtly charged with this ſalary, as having been received by one of his relatives: but I have entered into this detail, not ſo much for the ſake of the inſtance, as of the example; for how deſirable a circumſtance would it be for poor Old England, how would it diminiſh the leaves of the Red Book, and leſſen the evils ſo loudly complained of, if all public functionaries here were dealt with in the ſame manner as Mr. Maling has been dealt with by the Council of Trinidad!

It is uſeleſs, if not invidious, to publiſh liſts of places held by great men and their relatives, unleſs the incompetency of thoſe men to diſcharge the duties of the places they ſo hold can alſo be ſhewn. Such examples, on the contrary, have a very beneficial tendency; for as ſhame will ſometimes influence thoſe over whom principle has little power, the expoſure of improper appointments may tend to prevent the repetition of them: and I have related the circumſtances of Mr. Maling's appointment, which happened to be immediately within my own obſervation, not only from this

motive, but in the hope that it may induce thoſe who read it to furniſh others of the ſame deſcription, as proper ſubjects for your Political Cenſor.

So far from thinking that public ſervices are too highly rewarded, I am of opinion that the popular clamour againſt placemen and penſioners has been detrimental to the true intereſts of the country, by preventing either that increaſe of the number of perſons employed in the higher departments of office, which the increaſe of public buſineſs really requires; or that juſt augmentation to the ſalaries of thoſe who are employed, which the depreciation in the value of money has rendered neceſſary, to enable them to ſupport an appearance correſponding with their ſtations. The ſyſtem of gratuitous ſervices recommended by Sir Francis Burdett and his partiſans, cannot be too ſtrongly deprecated: it would operate as an excluſion to that riſing merit which now often ſurmounts the diſadvantages of fortune; it would confine every office of the higheſt importance to the rich and the great; and thus eſtabliſh an ariſtocratical influence that would prove deſtructive to the Conſtitution. It is not the amount of the remunerations made to the ſervants of the ſtate, that is the ſubject of reaſonable complaint; for unleſs government poſſeſſed the means of making them proper remuneration, none but wealthy men could afford to devote their time to public duties, and a very circumſcribed portion indeed of the talents of the country would be brought into political action. It is only the miſapplication of a conſiderable part of thoſe means that is juſtly complained of: the places, penſions, and reverſions, laviſhed upon the relatives and friends of perſons, who have themſelves no other pretenſions to the lucrative ſituations they occupy than hereditary rank or fortuitous influence. While the ſervants of the public are liberally rewarded, let not thoſe who have no claims on the public be paid out of the public purſe; let not appointments which ought to be reſerved for thoſe who have done the ſtate ſome ſervice, be given to thoſe who have done it no ſervice whatever; let not places, for which certain qualifications are requiſite, be given to men who have no ſuch qualifications; nor a country ſquire be recommended to the agency of a Weſt India Iſland by the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, merely becauſe a noble brother Secretary happened to marry his daughter. That the labourer is worthy of his hire is ſound doctrine; but thoſe drones who feaſt upon the ſweets which are gathered together by the labours of the induſtrious part of the community ought, by one common effort, to be expelled from the hive.

A TRINIDADIAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE excellent "Parody to Perronet's Mitre," and ſuch other of the favours of our Correſpondents as we have not been able to inſert this month, ſhall appear either in the next number or in the Appendix, ſo as to be included in the preſent volume.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

DR. Hales, of Killiſandra, well known to the religious and learned world, author of many uſeful and excellent tracts, is about to publiſh a very important work, the labour of many years, of deep ſtudy and cloſe application, to be entitled "An Analyſis of Ancient Chronology, ſacred and profane."